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Religious Place Names in New Mexico

T. M. PEARCE

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS of the peoples in New Mexico embrace everything from animistic cults among the American Indians, deifying natural forces, to twentieth century Anglo-American groups born of Utopian theories and practices. Consequently, the religious place names survive both from the older pre-Spanish period and from modern times, and they have been preserved in oral as well as in literary records. "Religion," then, as applied to the names in this paper, is a general term, not limited to any organized sect or church, but associated both with the historic church institutions and with the smaller groups professing individual faiths, or with the little known Indian rituals and ceremonies. Terms dealing with theological concepts or abstract words expressing feelings associated with religion have also been included. It might be well to begin with names drawn from Indian ritual and ceremonies, since these names are the most limited in number, and yet they are the earliest names which designate religious convictions associated with areas in New Mexico. In order to show the general location for the names, the county where the place name appears is shown in parentheses following its mention.

Indian religious experiences are frequently the result of activities at topographical landmarks, for Indian rites, in general, were celebrated out of doors. The Taos Indians, of the Tanoan language group, have a sacred lake, which at certain periods is guarded by sentinels who prevent any visitors from coming to this spot. In English, the lake is called *Blue Lake* (Taos), and it is located behind the sacred mountain of the Taos Indians. A mesa near Acoma Pueblo, which is a Keres speaking community, is known as *Katzimo* or "Enchanted Rock" (Valencia), because the Indians believe that their nature gods lived on top of its towering eminence. Another somewhat similar geographical formation, called *Black Mesa* (Santa Fe), in the neighborhood of the San Ildefonso Indians, also a

Tanoan group, is said to be the home of a giant called Tsaveeyo, who was slain by the twin sons of the Sky Father, after he had swallowed them and they were able to use their arrows on the giant's unprotected interior. Two other mesas bear the Spanish name, *Mesa Gigante* (Valencia), "giant mesa," derived from its background in Indian myth. *Mount Taylor* (Valencia) named for General Zachary Taylor, the twelfth president of the United States, is known to the Navajo Indians as *Tzil Dotlizze*, "Turquoise Mountain," and is considered their sacred mountain of the South. The holy mountain of the Zuñi Indians, to the east of the Navajo country, is called *Toayalone* or *Taaiyalone* (McKinley) "corn mountain," and has Indian altars and shrines on the summit. Zuñi myths associate this mountain with the House of the Gods and the making of rain, lightning, and thunder. The Anglo-Americans call it *Thunder Mountain*, from its religious mythology.

As is apparent, topographical monuments have been a source for religious place names among the Indians. In much the same way, landmarks like these have appealed to Christian traditions, both Catholic and Protestant, for the use of name patterns. In northeastern New Mexico, there is a hill with a deep depression in it, causing the height to resemble an open book: the result is *Bible Top Hill* (Union County), which was once a lookout for the Comanches. *Capilla Peak* (Torrance) means "hood or cap" in Spanish, and is descriptive of the shape of the pinnacle, like a monk's cowl. *Church Rock* (McKinley) resembles a church with towers. *Graveyard in the Sky* (Harding) is a stone formation where the pioneers climbed to make a cemetery, and *Twin Angels Peak* (San Juan) was so-named by the stockmen in the region because of two small points on top which resemble figures that must have had wings to travel there. *Wedding Cake Hill* (Union) is a round mound rising about 300 feet from the floor of a canyon near the Oklahoma line. The grass covered slope is topped by red, white, and brown layers of sandy rock, giving it the appearance of a big layer cake, like those used at weddings.

There are also topographical features which may be associated with Specters and Spirits. *Arch of the Devil* (Luna) is one of these, a peak in the Florida Mountains of southern New Mexico. This natural window-like opening in the mountain was named by the Spanish *Arco del Diablo*. *Devil's Creek* (Catron) and *Devil's Lake* (De Baca)

are two more designations commemorating the chief specter of evil. *Devil's Race Track* (Chaves) describes a high igneous dike in the caprock of southeast New Mexico; it resembles a low jagged race track. There is a *Satan's Pass* (McKinley) in the northwestern part of the state, and a *Spirit Lake* at the head of *Holy Ghost Creek*. The *Phantom Banks* are in the southeast corner of New Mexico near the Texas line.

The names of Roman Catholic Saints are the largest single category in the religious place names of New Mexico. These, of course, belong to the pattern of commemoration. There are some seventy commemorative titles¹ applied to several hundred separate communities and field localities, i.e., land grants, lakes, arroyos, creeks, rivers, mountains, peaks, passes, mesas, and plains.

It will be possible to illustrate by citing just the more unusual circumstances regarding these commemorations. Saint Anthony of Padua, the famed disciple of Saint Francis of Assisi, rivals his master for preeminence among the saints' names. There are 18 place names honoring St. Anthony and only 12 in memory of the founder of the Franciscan Order. St. Joseph, the foster father of Jesus, stands third in commemoratives, with 10 place names. Then follows San Miguel, "Saint Michael, the Archangel," with 8 place names.² The largest number of place names honoring the Mother of Christ are the eight localities identified as Guadalupe, part of the title, *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, "The Virgin of Guadalupe," patroness of old Mexico. Saint Mary Magdalene has been identified with a range of mountains and a settlement, *Magdalena* (Socorro), because of a story that Spanish refugees were surrounded by Apaches and were saved by the appearance of a face in the rock, which frightened the Indians away.

¹ The generic term *san* appears 152 times in *The New Mexico Place Name Dictionary*, honoring forty-one individual saints. *Santo* and *Santa* add some fifteen more holy personages whose names are applied to both communities and topography, and the Virgin Mary, as *Nuestra Señora* appears under fifteen different titles, some of which are only parish names and have not been included in the collection.

² One of these commemoratives is *San Miguel Mountain*, which is often referred to as *Big Mike* (San Miguel), because of the profile of a face which appears in the stone of the peak. Mythology surrounding this stone giant makes a pygmy of Paul Bunyan. A confusion between the saint and a human namesake tells of a man reputed to be 27 miles tall who carried as walk-around money the 10 billion pesos in gold ransom received by Cortez, the conquistador, for the release of Montezuma.

San Juan, "St. John the Baptist," was the first religious figure to be honored by Europeans in the history of New Mexico. When the general, Don Juan de Oñate, colonizer of the region, arrived on the Upper Rio Grande, July 11, 1598, he called an Indian pueblo there *San Juan de los Caballeros* (Rio Arriba), or "St. John of the Spanish Knights," commemorating both the adelantado's patron saint and the soldiers who accompanied him to the new colony. There are seven other place names honoring this follower of Jesus. The practice of Spanish explorers to select a saint's name for a locality as both personal and religious commemoration is illustrated by *San Francisco de Alburquerque*, honoring both the Governor of New Mexico, who founded the villa in 1706, the Viceroy of Mexico who authorized the settlement, and the patron saint of both men.³

Not all the religious personages commemorated in New Mexico belong to the tradition of the Roman Catholic Church. A leader of the Mormon Church, Luther W. Burnham is remembered in the name of a community in San Juan county, near the border of Utah. *Saint Ann's Mission* (Lincoln) is an Indian community sponsored by the Protestant Episcopal Church. *Venus* (Santa Fe), quite obviously an alien in the Southwest, was sponsored not by paganism but by a mercantile company which conferred that name upon the community. A Catholic commemorative of importance and interest is that of *Lamy* (Santa Fe), named to honor the first American bishop and later archbishop, John B. Lamy, who entered New Mexico in 1851, three years after the territory had passed into the jurisdiction of the United States. His name has been given literary immortality by the novelist Willa Cather, whose book *Death Comes for the Archbishop* is a somewhat fictionized biography of the distinguished educator and churchman. The three kings of the Epiphany are recalled by the place name *Reyes* (Harding), "kings," but since this is also a well known Spanish surname there may be less religious than personal significance involved.

A substantial group of place names commemorate theological concepts. The site of a pre-Spanish Indian village is known as *Animas*, which may refer either to the *animas benditas*, "blessed souls in Purgatory," or the *animas perdidas*, "lost souls in Hell." The

³ T. M. Pearce, "Spanish Place Name Patterns of the Southwest," *Names*, 3 (December 1955), p. 207.

Animas River (San Juan) seems to be definitely a reference to the lost souls caught in the quicksands of the river crossings. *Ave Maria* (Rio Arriba), the salutation of the Angel to the Mother of Christ, was the name of a now abandoned colonial Spanish settlement. *Concepcion* (San Miguel) and *Corazon* (San Miguel) spell out the dominance of religious cult names among the Spanish settlers.⁴ *Florida* (Luna), which names a trading point and a range of mountains, may be a descriptive name, "flowery," but it may be a transfer name from the state of Florida, where the association was both with flowers and with the Easter season, or *Pascua Florida*, when the territory was first found by Spanish explorers.

Along with the inspiring concepts celebrated by place name records comes the Anglo-Saxon term *Hell*, which is employed in half-a-dozen localities for canyons, mesas, and passes. All these designations appear in rugged terrain, and one of them, made up almost entirely of rocks and unexplored caves, is called *Hell's Half Acre* (Grant). Perhaps the prevalence of so many hospitable sites for his majesty Satan is countered by *Salvation Canyon* (Catron), *Sanctuario* (Santa Fe), "Sanctuary," and *Sangre de Cristo Mountains*, "Blood of Christ," where a flagellant cult called, in English, the *Penitentes* built its meeting houses and still holds Easter ceremonies commemorating the passion of Jesus.

The positive side of religious truth is evidenced by both Protestant and Catholic place names, drawn from the sphere of faith. *Beulah* (San Miguel) recalls an old hymn, "Beulah Land." *Las Cruces* (Doña Ana), "The Crosses," describes the cemetery where survivors of the Indian raids in the early nineteenth century were buried. *Holy Ghost Creek* empties from Spirit Lake (San Miguel), and *El Ojo del Espiritu Santo* (Sandoval), "The Spring of the Holy Spirit," is said to have been named by a peon who stood guard one night and saw two wraith-like spirals rising from the ground. He rushed toward the camp crying "*El Espiritu Santo!*" Others followed and discovered the spring. Other Catholic symbols commemorated in place names are: *Nacimiento* (Sandoval), "The Birthday of our

⁴ *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion Imaculada*, "Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception," titles of two seventeenth century pueblos (Cuarai and Hawakuh), and of parish communities at Alameda in 1776 and of a community today in San Miguel County. *La Sacra Corazon de Jesus*, "the Sacred Heart of Jesus," names a community, creek, and peak all in San Miguel County southeast of Las Vegas.

Lady"; *Nombre de Dios* (Doña Ana), "Name of God"; *Rosario* (Santa Fe), "Rosary"; *Sacramento* (Otero), shortened from of *El Santísimo Sacramento*, "The Most Blessed Sacrament"; *Santa Fe* (Santa Fe), "Holy Faith"; *Santo Niño* (San Miguel), "Holy Child."

A miscellaneous group of names associated with religious traditions are:

Shalam (Doña Ana). A religious colony founded in 1885 by Dr. John R. Newbrough, of New York City; the name was taken from the cult's religious book, *Oahspe*. With the death of their leader in 1891, the land and property were sold or abandoned. The name is a synonym for Hebrew *salem*, "peace," and is identified with *Jerusalem*.

Sunday Cove (Sierra). A peak in southwestern New Mexico, which may be related to a family name.

Swastika (Colfax). Sanskrit, "good fortune." Formerly a coal mining town owned by the St. Louis Rocky Mountain, and Pacific Company.

Trinity (Otero). The lonely, treeless site on the White Sands Proving Ground over which the first atomic bomb was detonated, July 16, 1945. Prayer services for peace are held there annually by worshippers of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths. According to Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, past director of the Los Alamos laboratory of nuclear physics, the name has no technical content, but was inspired by lines of the English poet, John Donne:

*As East and West in all flat maps — and I am one —
Are one, so death shall touch the Resurrection.*

(Hymn to God, My God, in My Sickness)

Amistad (Union), Spanish, "friendship." Founded in 1906, by the Rev. H. S. Wannamaker, a Congregational minister, who named it as a token of his hope for the enterprise. A number of the early settlers were clergymen from the east.

In every settlement area there are always transfer names, recalling the places where the colonists lived, or where others known to them have lived. A number of these names appear in New Mexico, recalling Biblical place names chiefly. Illustrative are *Belen* (Valencia), "Bethlehem," where one section of the town is named *Jerusalen*, "Jerusalem" and the other *Nazareth*, "Nazareth."

Cumberland (Chaves) was settled in 1908 by a Reverend C. W. Lewis, and named for the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. A college was located at this site but failed of development with the outset of World War I. Three more Biblical names of interest are:

Pool of Siloam (Otero). Recalls the pool to which Jesus directed the blind man and from which the man recovered his sight.⁵ The pool in New Mexico, however, is seepage from oil deposits.

Salem (Doña Ana). Hebrew, "Peaceful." A settlement established in 1908 by New Englanders. The name appears in the Old Testament as an identification of the city of Jerusalem.

Shiloh (Otero). Hebrew, "tranquil." The settlement was close to the Texas line, and the assumption warranted is that the name honors not only the resting place of the Ark of the Covenant in ancient Israel, but the site of the Battle of Shiloh in the Civil War, April, 1862.

So the story ends, having covered a good deal of territory in both the physical and the spiritual world. Perhaps the central meaning in both areas of experience is that the steps taken by mankind, in both soul and body, do not differ so greatly as the sounds of the languages which express them.

⁵ *The Gospel According to St. John*, 9:7.

Names of Real-Estate Developments. III

ARTHUR MINTON

PARTS I AND II OF THIS PAPER (*Names*, 7 [1959] Sept. and Dec.) described the methods and sources employed in the inquiry; exemplified overt semantic themes found in the development names; and made some comparison of recently affixed names (drawn mainly from the *New York Times*, 1948–1951) with those that had been registered in Nassau County, Long Island, New York, in the period 1854–1950. Part III begins with a comparison of the observed development names with American place names as the latter are described by George R. Stewart.

The following abbreviations are used:

NI – Section Index of the Land and Tax Map of Nassau County (Long Island), New York.

NYT – *New York Times*.

TSN – Notices of the sale of property on which taxes were in arrears, in Suffolk County (Long Island), New York; published in local newspapers.

6. *Comparison with Established Place Names*

Development names *in toto* are best considered as distinct from place names. However, certain relations between the two bodies of names are apparent. Place names or place-name elements often occur in development names; and some development names attain the status of place names. Hence some comparison of the two kinds of names would seem to be instructive.

Semantic Themes in Development Names and in the General Body of American Place Names

A reading of *Names on the Land*⁷⁴ leads to the conclusion that all the semantic themes that have been found in development names exist in American place names taken as a whole. English and quasi-English names, names referring to natural features, names transferred from other places than England, especially names of exotic

⁷⁴ Rev. and enl. ed. (Boston, 1958).

flavor, historical and topical references, encomium, Indian and pseudo-Indian names, and names chosen less for their "meaning" than for (apparently) some phonetic charm — all these types are found elsewhere than in "developments."

The practice of giving an attractive name to a prospective colony goes back at least to Eric the Red, who, having found a new land as he sailed west about 985 A.D., called it Greenland "Because men would the more readily go there if the country had a good name."'⁷⁵ In motive and form the name bestowed by Eric has a marked likeness to many development names.

The tradition of English names too had early roots in American history. In 1658 the Massachusetts General Court called it "a commendable practice" for the colonists to have chosen place names "from our dear native Country of England."⁷⁶ Thereupon the Court justified the choice of *New London* for that Connecticut city.

References to natural features are too obvious to need much specification. The use of tree names, for example, so prominent in development names, is seen in the repeated use of *Cottonwood*, *Cedar*, and *Pine* by the Western mountaineers.⁷⁷ In Philadelphia — and in how many other places? — streets were named after trees.

Stewart relates how foreign non-English names were given with various possible motives — among them admiration for a strange name, "advertising," hope that the new settlement might equal a famous old-world place, and remembrance of the home place of immigrants.⁷⁸ Historical allusions in place names are, of course, commonplace. Washington, Lexington, Franklin, Hancock, Adams, and other notable persons and places are often thus remembered. Some names make topical references — the stuff of social history — as, *Gene Autry* (Oklahoma), celebrating an actor and singer in Western radio programs and motion pictures; and *Tarzan* (Texas), which embodies the name of a fictional jungle hero. Some other timely place names are *Electron*, *Gasoline*, *Radio*, and *Radium*.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁷⁶ Quoted, *ibid.*, pp. 52–53.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 221–22.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 238f.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

Stewart's treatment of Indian and pseudo-Indian names has already been noticed. Development names combining elements of personal names or place names are in some wise analogous to, e.g., *Kenova*, *Leaday*, and *Texarkana*.⁸⁰

If it be charged that development names often have an artificial and accidental quality, the reply can well be that so have many well-established place names, viewed as to their origin. Concerning the making of *Tumac* Stewart quotes A. H. Sylvester of the Forest Service: "I spelled two *Tu* and added the 'mac' to it for *Tumac* which makes as fine a looking Indian name as I will ask you to find anywhere."⁸¹ *Pasadena*⁸² and *Tolono*⁸³ are other examples of place names whose origins were marked by a speck of the adventitious or factitious.

Certain types of American place names do not evidence themselves in the development names examined, except as development names may repeat — possibly as specific terms — established names of any origin whatever. Among these types are names based on incidents, Biblical names, classical names, and possibly — though this is more difficult of ascertainment — names whose purpose was to get political advantage by flattery. The presence of a few names of folkish character has been noted among the development names, but the strain is a thin one. Such names are likely to be replaced with something more stylish.

Homonymic forms, word-play, and apparent double provenance have been remarked in development names. Likewise Stewart points out that *Bare Mountain* often became *Bear Mountain*,⁸⁴ that "Media in Pennsylvania used the ancient name for the land of the Medes, but was also the plural of *medium*, because it lay at the center of a county," that a later town became *Numidia* instead of *New Media*, and that a man named *Palm* might be commemorated in a place called *Palmyra* instead of *Palmstown*.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 364, 362, and 363f., respectively.

⁸¹ Quoted, *ibid.*, p. 357.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 349.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 362. For other items related to this point of artificiality and "chance," see, e.g., *ibid.*, pp. 324 and 327-29.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

Long Island Place Names

A more limited comparison of the two classes of names can be made by examination of place names on Long Island. Such an examination has particular point, since most development names cited in this paper are from Long Island. Following are observations on some three hundred place names given in *Long Island*,⁸⁶ published by the Long Island Association.

Of the most frequent unbound forms, *Beach*, *Estates*, *Gardens*, *Heights*, *Manor*, and *View* have places among the established names. *Grove*, *Hill*, and *Hills* are other unbound forms that figure in both development names and these Long Island place names.

The roll of bound forms is fairly well traversed; the established names contain, e.g., *burgh*, *bury*, *dale*, *haven*, *hurst*, *lawn*, *mere*, *mont*, *side*, *stone*, *town*, and *ville*. Among such forms not included in our count of bound forms but present in the place names are *ham*, *lyn*, and *ton*. The bound form *wood* occurs both as an initial element and as a terminal one (*Woodhaven*, etc. and *Inwood*); the same is true of *brook* (*Brookville* and *Holbrook*). *Brook* is seen also as an unbound form, in *Stony Brook*.

Some semantic strands noticed for development names are apparent. Among English place names are *Devon*, *Kensington*, *Malverne* (with modified spelling), *St. Albans*, and *St. James*. Most, if not all, of the foregoing names are also place names elsewhere in America. Bound forms of obsolete or obsolescent denotation are seen in *Cedarhurst*, *Roslyn*, *Shoreham*, and *Westbury*. Natural features are alluded to in *Bellerose*, *Flowerfield*, *Oceanside*, *Ozone Park*, *Pinelawn*, etc. Flushing was named after the Dutch seaport. *Flanders* is more likely to be felt as having Continental than British associations. The first element of *Murray Hill-Flushing* is the name of a section of Manhattan. But again, *Flanders* and *Murray Hill* occur elsewhere in America as place names. Indian names on Long Island include *Asharoken*, *Ronkonkoma*, *Sagaponack*, and *Setauket*. Historical allusions appear in *Port Jefferson*, *Port Washington*, *Roanoke*, and *Roosevelt*. Does *Arverne* trace to *Arvernia* or did it originate mainly as a phonetic artifact?

According to Herbert F. Ricard,⁸⁷ historian of the Borough of Queens, New York City, the name of Malba, a section of Queens,

⁸⁶ 15th ed. (Garden City, N. Y., 1950).

⁸⁷ Quoted in the *New Yorker*, Nov. 7, 1953, p. 32.

was formed from the initials of the surnames of the five men whose company developed the area about 1908. From the same source it is learned that Rego Park, also in Queens, drew its name from that of the Rego Construction Company, *Rego* in that name being constructed of the first parts of the expression "real good."

Certain themes that emerged from the development names are missing from the Long Island place names. The encomiastic group is not detectible, nor are the hybrids — names combining elements of personal names or place names. Heroes and events of the sports and entertainment worlds are likewise missing, though of course they may be present but veiled by the mists of time. Nor do we find allusion to technological aspects of the society (as we do find recognition of, e.g., radio and aviation among the development names). On the other hand, among the place names *Mt. Sinai* stands as a representative of the Biblical strain that has been noted as absent from the development names. *Babylon* may be a moot example.

Some Attitudes toward Development Names and Place Names of Similar Aspect

Some critical vibrations are directed at development names, whether or not the names become place names. Development names may be called banal, rootless, prettified, pretentious, undescriptive to the point of irrelevance. It may not be an exaggeration to say that in some quarters development names seem to be considered a dubious linguistic congeries that is apart from the main stream of American place naming. Adduced below is some published comment that reflects attitudes toward development names and to comparable formations that have become place names. Most of the place names cited are likely to have been applied originally to the property syntagmas that are here called developments.

Mencken's remark on development names was noticed earlier in this paper. Over a century before, Byron had jeered at names (of places or of "developments"?) in London suburbs. Don Juan, approaching London, passes

Through Groves, so call'd as being void of trees
 (Like *lucus* from *no* light); through prospects named
 Mount Pleasant, as containing nought to please,
 Nor much to climb;⁸⁸ . . .

And in the concluding lines of the stanza:

Through 'Rows' most modestly call'd 'Paradise,'
 Which Eve might quit without much sacrifice; —

A form of criticism resides in some writers' pointing out non-congruence between the supposed claims of a name and the actualities of a site. When Martin and Leora Arrowsmith move to Nautilus, Iowa, they find lodgings "In a two-family house on Social Hill, which is not a hill but a slight swelling in the plain."⁸⁹

Another instance of noncongruence is called to attention by Arthur Koestler (though a full-fledged place name is in point). Writing about Tel Aviv, that author comments with neutral tone: "Even its name was a paradox: 'tel' means 'hill,' 'aviv' means 'spring'; but the city is flat and the winter rains are followed by summer heat without much transition."⁹⁰

A locality in the Borough of Queens, New York City, was the subject of the following description in a newspaper report: "Forest Hills, a reclaimed patch of low-lying moor on Long Island, consists mainly of modern apartment houses and it boasts self-service elevators."⁹¹

Distaste may be manifested at the dropping of a traditional name in favor of a mellifluous label of the development sort. In a historical guide to New York City⁹² it is said of the Village of Newtown

⁸⁸ *Don Juan* XI.xxi. (*The Complete Poetical Works of Lord Byron*. Student's Cambridge ed. [Boston, etc., 1905]). See stanza xx also.

⁸⁹ Sinclair Lewis, *Arrowsmith* (New York, 1925 [1924]), p. 210. In the same novel (p. 241) the house of the industrialist Clay Tredgold is "on the highest knoll (fully twenty feet above the general level of the plain) in Ashford Grove, which is the Back Bay of Nautilus."

In Max Shulman's novel *Rally Round the Flag, Boys!* (New York, 1958 [1954]), about a town in Fairfield County, Connecticut, a property owner reflects (p. 91): "You take a lot like the Yarbrow place, give it an attractive names — Pilot's Knob, for example — and you could get maybe \$15,000 an acre!"

⁹⁰ *Arrow in the Blue* (New York, 1952), p. 161.

⁹¹ Richard F. Shepard, "Turkestani Finds Turks Indifferent," *NYT*, May 4, 1952, p. 32/2-4.

⁹² Frank Bergen Kelley, comp., *Historical Guide to the City of New York*, rev. (Tercentenary) ed. (New York, c. 1914), p. 297.

(Elmhurst), settled in 1652 by the Dutch, who named it Middelburgh: "Unfortunately the historic name was changed to Elmhurst a few years ago to satisfy the fancy of a real estate speculator." Elmhurst is the present name of this section of the Borough of Queens.

Amused detachment, at least, is to be perceived in an account of the change of name of a section of New Milford, Connecticut. A writer tells how two boys, after bicycling from Hartford, chose to rest in "a field opposite a farm house just off Pug Lane (or Poplar Swamp, as it was also called, and now grandly known as Park Lane)." ⁹³

Apropos of the abandonment of one folkish place name on Long Island, satisfaction has been explicit. An article on the "Early History of Huntington, Babylon, and Northport (Long Island, N. Y.)" ⁹⁴ tells of the substitution of the name *Northport* for *Cow Harbour* at some time between 1832 and 1837. The article ruminates that "The name Cow Harbour is not one to attract or entice new residents to settle here regardless of beauty of location, so we can heartily rejoice the name was finally changed to Northport." The plain-Jane name *Head of the Harbor* (Long Island) was changed to *Roslyn* by a committee under the leadership of William Cullen Bryant. ⁹⁵ A historical note mentions the antecedent of a Long Island place name of indubitable development stripe: "'Punksole,' the ancient name of Manorville, used to be written Punk's Hole — a designation which does not seem to be aboriginal, though no satisfactory interpretation of it can be found in *English dictionaries*." ⁹⁶

In *Names on the Land*, George R. Stewart manifests a tempered — or ambiguous — distaste for the smooth confections of subdivision platters. In his Chapter XXXI Stewart takes up romantic themes

⁹³ Newell Rogers, "Driven from Pug Lane Farm as Boy, Artist Kappel Decades Later Buys It," *New Milford (Conn.) Times*, Nov. 20, 1958, Sec. 3, p. 5/1. Cited is Philip Kappel's information that in colonial times young sheep were called pugs. Cf. in *OED*, s.v. *pug*, sb.², 8b, *pug* as a quasi-proper name, in dialectal use, for a lamb and some other animals.

⁹⁴ Northport (N. Y.) *Observer*, Aug. 28, 1952, p. 16/3.

⁹⁵ John G. Rogers, "North Shore Motor Trip . . .," *New York Herald Tribune*, Aug. 1, 1955, p. 15/5.

⁹⁶ J[ames] H[ammond] T[rumbull], "Long Island Indians," *Magazine of American History*, 1 (1877), 330.

in place names of the middle nineteenth century. He cites the popularization of *brook, burn, dale, glen, hurst, mere, mont, side, vale, wood*. "One of their devotees," he writes,

was the developer laying out a district for summer homes or for one of the new suburbs which the railroads were making possible. Such names came to enclose New York City like a ring of outer fortifications — Oakwood, Hillside, Montclair, Englewood, Scarsdale, Larchmont, Glen Cove, Greenvale, Rosedale, Cedarhurst, Edgemere.⁹⁷

The attraction of such names Stewart attributes to their supposedly poetic quality, their English aspect, their snobbishness and exclusiveness, and their suggestion of lovely landscape. The foregoing analysis comes surprisingly (with its discovery of Anglophilism and snobbishness) after the opening passage of the chapter, for there the author finds romanticism and the frontier to be in some wise parallel inner phenomena. "The frontier was not only of the land, but also in the minds of men."⁹⁸

Several chapters later (XXXVI) Stewart describes the spread, in post-Civil War years, of "a horrible malady called 'good taste.'"⁹⁹ Names given then, he avers, "tended to be effeminate, snobbish, Anglophile, and full of liquid sounds."

Thus the "frontier" quality of romantic names seems to have become quite dissipated. Stewart explains that "An earlier generation had at least been positive and even creative, by introducing Dale and Glen. In the seventies and eighties such names were already stale, but they were more fashionable than ever."¹⁰⁰

From frontier creativeness (plus Anglophilism and snobbery) to epicene imitation in twenty or thirty years (Stewart's account might be so summed up) — the strands here are too variegated, the changes too rapid to make up a convincing interpretation. Why should *Englewood* and *Rosedale*, because they may have been given a couple of decades earlier, occupy a higher place than *Brookfield* and *Bosky Dell*? The contrast seems to depend on a conception of history in segments rather than as continuity. However they be judged, the names in question continued (and continue) to be of much the same character.

The line of thought is not clarified by a paragraph, in Chapter XLII, that pronounces the 1920's to have marked the beginning of

⁹⁷ P. 273.

⁹⁸ P. 270.

⁹⁹ P. 330.

¹⁰⁰ Pp. 330–31.

a more robustious era in the language of Americans. Stewart writes that "through a century, under the influence of Good Taste, names had become more namby-pamby and insipid. At last the current was stemmed, or even reversed."¹⁰¹

The foregoing seems to carry the era of "Good Taste" back to the times of fresh romantic influence — not merely to "the years following the Civil War." The continuity of naming tradition thus implied seems more in keeping with social realities than was Stewart's earlier distinction between the "frontier" quality of mid-nineteenth-century development names and the post-Civil War products.¹⁰² However, the naming practices that Stewart deprecates, far from being braked, are still — as development names show — in full course. As for imitation and repetition, they are always with us in the comparable sphere of place names; Stewart himself makes that clear. With regard to historical judgment, and even consistency, Stewart's handling of the names in question is not the most satisfactory feature of *Names on the Land*.

Mencken's notice of development names, Byron's sally, Sinclair Lewis's amused clause about Social Hill, Richard F. Shepard's salute to Forest Hills, Frank Bergen Kelley's irritated remark on the change from Middelburgh to Elmhurst, George R. Stewart's sweet-sour treatment of development names (or comparable place names) — these are some signs of attitudes toward the names. But all criticism is confronted by the massive fact that the names have persisted and multiplied for generations. This fact will be the subject of rumination in the next Section.

7. *Some Semantic Problems*

By the views of some authors there would seem to be little necessity, or indeed feasibility, in an inquiry into the semantic aspects of names. Reviewing the opinions of Stuart Mill, Bertrand Russell, and others on the nature of proper names, Stephen Ullmann tends to agree that proper names are, in effect, labels.¹⁰³ "On this reading,"

¹⁰¹ P. 378.

¹⁰² To be noted in passing is Stewart's reference (*op.cit.*, p. 270) to the fact that in the early nineteenth century, plantations in the cotton states might be given names drawn from poems and novels. Cf. above note 70.

¹⁰³ Stephen Ullmann, *The Principles of Semantics*, 2nd ed. (Glasgow and Oxford, 1957), pp. 73–74.

he avers, "proper names seem to lie outside the province of semantics, or at least on the outer fringes of that area." In semantic study, the only import Ullman infers for such names lies in their becoming appellatives and vice versa. This view is in essential agreement with that of Sir Alan Gardiner when the latter writes that the term *proper name*

merely segregates and puts in a class by themselves those words in which the power of distinctive word-sounds to identify distinct things is exhibited in a pure or nearly pure state, without that power being assisted to any great degree by such meaning as may attach to the word.¹⁰⁴

Both writers, it will be observed, display an element of tentativeness or qualification — Ullmann by his phrase "On this reading," Gardiner in such an expression as "without that power being assisted to any great degree." Their reservations would seem to be well taken. On the other hand Ernst Pulgram unreservedly contests Mill's theory of the "meaningless label." Pulgram concludes that "meaninglessness cannot be ascribed to names as a characteristic."¹⁰⁵

The views of George H. Mead, as reported by Margaret Schlauch,¹⁰⁶ seem to point toward both the "label" status of names and their "meaningfulness." In its relationship to the thing indicated "the significant symbol" is a label; in its relationship to response to the thing the symbol is a concept.

With respect to proper names, the views of John P. Searle appear to be not out of harmony with the formulations of Pulgram and Mead. After exploring the problem of the proper name, Searle concludes in part: "We can now resolve our paradox: does a proper name have a sense? If this asks whether or not proper names are used to describe or specify characteristics of objects, the answer is 'no.' But if it asks whether or not proper names are logically connected with characteristics of the object to which they refer, the answer is 'yes, in a loose sort of way.'"¹⁰⁷

Development names, at least, present semantic features that are worth scrutiny. Consider the general character of the names. It is evident that in large part they are fabricated expressions consisting

¹⁰⁴ Sir Alan Gardiner, *The Theory of Proper Names*, 2nd ed. (London, New York, and Toronto, 1954), p. 66.

¹⁰⁵ Ernst Pulgram, *Theory of Names* (Berkeley, 1954, p. 35; original publication in *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, 5 [1954], 149–96).

¹⁰⁶ "Early Behaviorist Psychology and Contemporary Linguistics," *Word*, 2 (1946), p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ "Proper Names," *Mind*, 67 (1958), p. 173.

of unbound and bound forms that are repeatedly employed in the corpus. The repetition of forms has been shown by, e.g., counts that are presented in Section 3 of this paper. The combinatory forms include common nouns and adjectives, which is to say that in other contexts they possess identifiable referents. But in development names customary references may not be operative; features, as of physiography or vegetation, that are "purportedly" symbolized may be absent from the referents of the whole names — the developments.¹⁰⁸ Nor is the reference of component proper names easy to determine. Nevertheless it is clear that development names possess some sort of potency for the public for which they are fabricated or conceived. The paragraphs that follow will describe some problems of the semantics of development names and will make suggestions for the study of the problems.

Symbolic Values

Ogden and Richards have described the relations between symbol (word), thought (reference), and referent (what is symbolized).¹⁰⁹ Their view of the symbolic process will aid in the definition of semantic problems attached to development names.

The authors distinguish between "more or less direct" and "indirect" relationship between thought and referent. Their example of the first is the thought or perception of a colored surface. On the other hand the "indirect" relationship occurs when there is thought of, or reference to, what is known by report, the authors' example being a reference to Napoleon.

A corresponding distinction is to be observed between two kinds of employments of a proper name. For anyone who does not know the referent by experience, a proper name is in the role of "label." But to one who is familiar with the referent, the name is more; it in some degree connotes the properties of the referent. Failure to take

¹⁰⁸ The nonsymbolic factor is presumably not so great in place names as a body. Hence it is doubtful whether George R. Stewart's comprehensive classification of place names is generally applicable to development names. ("A Classification of Place Names," *Names*, II [1954], 1-13) Thus Stewart says of descriptive names (*ibid.*, p. 3): "Actual false description is rare." It is clear that Stewart does not narrow the meaning of "false description" to "deception," nor is that sense intended in this paper.

¹⁰⁹ C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, 5th ed. (New York and London, 1938), especially pp. 9ff.

this distinction into account is no doubt at the bottom of much dispute about the character of the proper name. It is a distinction that is apparent in the thinking of, e.g., Mead and Searle as cited above.

The direct-indirect dichotomy has other bearings in the semantic study of development names. In considering these bearings we shall do well to recognize that many of those names possess not only the usual designative function of names, but also an allusive function. Section 4 of this paper, on "Semantic Themes," contains a classification of names based on the varied character of potential allusions.

The development name *Gramercy Park* designates a constellation of holdings on Long Island. When used or apprehended by anyone who knows that development by sensory experience, the name summons up a multiplicity of impressions. This phenomenon constitutes an instance of direct symbolism. On the other hand if I learn, through report, of the existence of a development so named, it is indirect symbolism that (in accordance with the Ogden-Richards distinction) is in effect for me. My subsequent use of the name as a means of identifying the development will also be in the nature of indirect symbolism, so long as I do not have firsthand knowledge of the place. Thus a name in its function of identification may operate as either a direct or an indirect symbol — as a connotative term or as a "label."

In its allusive function too the development name *Gramercy Park* may involve either direct or indirect symbolism. For those who know the famous private park in Manhattan (or any other Gramercy Park, apart from the development so named), the development name acts as directly symbolic on the plane of allusion. If on the other hand the allusion is explained to someone who has not seen any extra-development Gramercy Park, for that person the allusion comprises indirect symbolism. There is a third possibility in allusion, namely, that the allusion-referent is not known and remains unexplained.

When physical features are in allusive reference, direct symbolism is dependent on one more condition: the presence of the physical features at the site of the development. Absence of such physical features would seem to indicate that their signifiants have only emotive value. If the only vegetation on the site of a hypothetical

Edelweiss Manor is scrub pine, grass, and weeds, the first element of the name is emotive, not symbolic, even for persons who have first-hand knowledge of the edelweiss. Physical features so considered may be natural (e.g., physiography, vegetation) or cultural (e.g., the park, the farm).

It will be apparent that direct and indirect symbolism may occur in various combinations with designative and allusive import. For some persons a name may occur designatively as a direct symbol, while a component form of the name operates as an indirect symbol. For others, who know the development by report only, the name will be an indirect symbol; if the referents of all component allusive forms are known firsthand, those forms will be direct symbols. For still other persons direct symbolism will operate for both designation and allusion. And so on. The presence or absence of physical features in allusion will introduce another possibility of variant combinations of direct and indirect symbolism.

Following are some causes of the difficulty of knowing what is symbolized for different persons by many allusive forms:

1. The allusion may be to a subject that is so narrowly known that allusive value would seem to be nil for most of the relevant population. Such would surely seem to be the case with first names, as in *Ada Mae Park* and *Miriam Estates*; amalgams of personal names, as *Edstan Village* and *Pearlnat Homes*; *Belluscio Estates*, which embodies the name of the former owner of the land; and other presumably allusive names requiring knowledge of special contexts, such as *Hampton Court*, *Sherwood Estates*, *San Remo*, and *Trianon Park*.

2. Even if an element seems to embody a generally available allusion to a given universe of discourse — say, American history — it probably has various “meanings” for different members of the population. Does mention of the name *Jefferson* cause recollection of that statesman’s specific historical contributions? Undoubtedly, for some persons, in greater or lesser degree. For others the name may invite only a feeling of generalized patriotic approval.

3. The question of the semantic intention and effect of allusive forms is further complicated by the occurrence of numerous forms that must possess multiple reference. A development name that is taken to represent a historical allusion may also duplicate a place

name or the name of a neighborhood street or park. How does each of the possible associational complexes contribute to the "meaning" of the name?

4. The recognition of topical allusions would be subject to attenuation over a period. Such forms as *Nira* (National Industrial Recovery Act) and *Willard* (presumably the name of the boxing champion) may have had allusive value for all or nearly all of the relevant population at the time the names were bestowed, but in the course of time their allusions would probably not be recognized by increasing larger portions of the new generations.

5. A certain number of forms are so heavily exploited in commerce that they would seem to have lost a considerable part of their symbolic content. The question is raised whether the specific terms of the following examples any longer have much, if any, symbolic value when used commercially: *Apex Homes* (Oceanside, L.I.), *Central Homes* (NI 1941), *Colonial Manor* (NI 1926), *Grand Terrace* (NI 1927), *Keystone Homes* (Flushing, Queens), *Knickerbocker Homes* (Hempstead, L.I.), *Royal Plaza* (NI 1925), *Triangle Park* (NI 1927). The selection of such specific terms as those in the foregoing examples has an aspect of ritualism.

What is the history of these commercial stereotypes? A seminar in the American language might do worse than to dig into this question. The inquiry might shed some light on (a) the circumstances leading to the popularity of the terms involved; (b) the process by which the symbolic content of the terms becomes attenuated through their heavy employment for at least a large part of the relevant population.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Among the "ritualistic" name elements *Majestic* ranks high. In the *Manhattan, New York City, Telephone Directory, 1955-1956*, many businesses began their listings with *Majestic*, including the *Majestic Bias Prods Co.*, the *Majestic Brokerage Co.*, the *Majestic Brush Mfg. Corp.*, the *Majestic Coal Co.*, the *Majestic Corset Co.*, and the *Majestic Exterminating Co., Inc.*

The diminished symbolic charge of such words in business is suggested in the name of a Newark, N. J. firm, seen on a rubber typewriter-pad: *Peerless Imperial Company*.

Cf. the following: A youth in Brooklyn, New York who belongs to a club called the *Archers* was asked how that name had been chosen. Did the club engage in archery? "No," the young man replied, "it's just a name. It was a choice between that and *Panthers*." This indeterminate reply is likely to find some parallel in the answers of older respondents who are asked to explain the choice of a public name (as of an organization) containing a similar "allusive" element — in effect: "It's just a name."

6. Since a given allusive form may have more than one referent — there may be, e.g., more than one referent for *Gramercy Park*, outside the development so named — it would seem that the situation of the bestower of an allusive name is different from that of the relevant public. The bestower presumably has a particular referent in mind; for the public there may be a choice of referents.¹¹¹

Emotive Values

Ogden and Richards¹¹² distinguish between the "symbolic use of words," which they term statement, and the "emotive use of words," which serves "to express or excite feelings and attitudes." The latter use the authors consider "a more simple matter" than the former, and "probably more primitive."

In the view adopted here emotive values may attach to both the designative and the allusive functions and to both direct and indirect symbolism. Development names as directly symbolic identifiers have emotive force because of the character of the associations that may cluster around the development named. A name evokes feelings and attitudes as the place becomes known for, let us say, the beauty of its constituent properties or its proximity to a glue factory. The emotive force of allusive-direct symbolism also seems understandable, at least in some manifestations. If one knows Salisbury, Eng'and, the first element of *Salisbury Park Manor* may excite agreeable associations of the cathedral town. If a Salisbury is not known by experience — i.e., if the allusion involves indirect symbolism — the character of the emotive value of *Salisbury* is more obscure.

Even the indirect symbolism of the "label" function of proper names may be marked by emotive phenomena. When one hears or reads a name, even though he is unacquainted with the referent, he is likely to have some feeling about the name — pleasure, distaste, or whatever. In so far as such response is apart from symbolic values, its explanation remains to be given. Elsdon C. Smith has pointed

¹¹¹ This circumstance seems to suggest the fallacy of the view attributed by Ullmann (*op. cit.*, p. 68) to C. Morris, W. M. Urban, and R. Carnap that speaker and listener can be "bracketed" in consideration of the factors entering into the speech situation.

¹¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 149. The present writer cannot agree, even on the authors' showing, that "The emotive use of words is a more simple matter."

out to this writer in conversation the interest residing in attitudes toward names.

The way in which emotive values may predominate in development names is well suggested by examples containing forms which, taken at symbolic face value, make suggestions that are paradoxical or at least improbable: *Hilldale Heights* (East Northport, L.I.), *Knoll Crest Park "Block 2"* (TSN 1909), *Valcrest Homes* (NI 1950), *Valmont Gardens* (Elmont, L.I.), *Marine Acres* (Seaford, L.I.). *Glencrest Homes* is "In the Glen Oaks section of Queens." *Sunken Meadow Heights* is near *Sunken Meadow State Park*, L.I. For admirers of *Ramview Heights* (Ramsey, N.J.) there must be inhibition of any sense of *ram* other than that derived from *Ramsey*. Surely the names of this last group are to be taken, not as maps of the referents of the component forms, but as musical chords meant to send echoes flying in some undefined social deeps.

Presumably development names give rise to agreeable feelings in prospective customers. How do the names bring about emotive responses? The difficulties of this question will get some definition through consideration of the name classes that have been set up.

If "purportedly" signified physical features, natural or cultural, are not in fact represented in a development, the signifiants are here regarded as having only emotive force. By their operation, it might be said, an idealized landscape is imposed on an existing one by verbal *force majeure*. Thus by some inquirers the emotive force of allusions to natural beauty will be taken as self-explanatory. Others may discover specific symbols in the profusion of woods, knolls, crests, and meadows.

For most of the relevant population, solely emotive must be the value of such archaic morphemes as *burn*, *bury*, *croft*, *dale*, *fold*, *holme*, *hurst* — forms having "British" tone. But even forms that have currency in general expression — e.g., among the principal unbound forms, *Farms*, *Heights*, *Terrace* — may not possess ordinary symbolic value when they are used in development names. After the report, in Section 3, of the count of the principal unbound forms, there was some comment on the presumptive reasons (pertinent to emotive values) for the popularity of those forms.

An additional word may be in order on the farm, among the cultural features signified in development names. The farm as a producing unit is not heavily weighted with prestige. Yet *Farm(s)*

is likely to occur in developments containing higher-priced houses. To put the pertinent socio-symbolic concept in more general terms: a cultural feature of humble status may (under certain conditions that I do not attempt to define here) be employed as a symbol of high status. Structural features of the log cabin may be embodied, at considerable expense, in the tycoon's hunting lodge.

The large class of "British" names and elements also has paradoxical aspects. Tangled strands of attraction and repulsion go to make up American attitudes toward things British. The phenomenon has persisted through two wars with England and at least one near war (and even through periods of alliance). A certain discomfort, to say the least, vis-à-vis Britishisms has probably never been in short supply in America. H. L. Mencken was able to write (and on this subject allowance should be made for his well-known bias): "To the average American of the plain people, indeed, any word or phrase of an obviously English flavor has an offensive smack."¹¹³ Yet with surprising frequency, even today the American accepts a British name (or an imitation thereof) for his dwelling place, whether in a development or an apartment house or hotel. Some sector of the national psyche seems to respond powerfully to a British or quasi-British name as, apparently, a token of superiority and stability.

With respect to the present corpus the ambivalence in the situation is heightened in and near New York City by the presence of large numbers of persons of non-English descent — especially German, Irish, and Italian; if the Jewish population be regarded separately (as is the anomalous custom), various national origins are in point. These stocks are of the marrow of the metropolis, and some of their numbers retain a keen and prideful consciousness of the countries from which they or their ancestors came. Even more to the point, the English have traditionally been regarded as antagonists of some of the groups. Nonetheless the British tradition probably has little less sway among them, when it comes to development names, than among population segments of British descent.

The case of Irish-descended citizens is particularly puzzling, for by and large they are notably self-conscious about their ould-sod heritage. Moreover Ireland and the Irish are the subjects of a genial

¹¹³ *The American Language*, 4th ed. (New York, 1936), p. 269.

sentimentality on the part of great numbers of Americans who have little or no connection with that country. In and about New York City, at any rate, convivial singers of various ancestry are given to full-throated renditions of "My Wild Irish Rose."

On the face of the matter, then, the facts seem to go against all expectation. Though a certain number of developments are identified through the use of personal names and place names of non-British provenance, omissions are conspicuous. It is mysterious that no realtor — so far as has come to the writer's attention — feels impelled to call his development Dublin Terrace or Ballybunion Acres instead of something like Buckingham Manor. With reference to social psychology we seem to be confronted with divergent, if not contradictory, attitudes that are so compartmented as to be viable.

It seems clear that for the relevant population "British" names and name elements suggest social superiority. No doubt contributing to this effect are constructive contributions of the British in the history of America, and impressions made by English literature in the schools. It will be remembered too that "glamour" advertising apotheosizes some things British — though such advertising is a manifestation rather than a primary cause of American middle-class partial orientation toward Britain. It remains to be seen if the decline of Britain as a world power will in time result in a lessened role for that nation in American imagery.

Still different kinds of psychological mechanisms would seem to be operative when historical, literary, and topical allusions are afoot. It is very well to say that these names represent an endeavor to borrow prestige from great, or at least prominent, personages, institutions, etc., but the manner of borrowing is not instantly clear. For one thing the historical and topical elements comprise considerable variety. *Atomic*, *Dagmar*, *Pilgrim*, *Radio*, and *Revere* connote different kinds of prestige. Is there some common ground among them? The problem here is compounded by the circumstance that the indirect symbolism of some of the elements in point would seem to be, for many persons, of hazy character.

The romantic appeal of Indian names, like that of British names, is not a result of an unbroken history of affection for the people memorialized by the names. Vis-à-vis both categories social psycho-

logists may wish to trace the steps by which agreeable romantic associations have become attached to the names.

Exotic names (e.g., *Lido*, *Mandalay*, *Venice*), names of romantic tradition (*Robin Hood*, *Captain Kidd*), and names of literary men (*Whitman*, *Hawthorne*) — the attractions of these and other categories seem to have still different origins.

The foregoing classes of names seem to derive their power from imaginatively-charged universes of discourse — spheres of socially cohesive mythos. A more precise description of the psychological and sociological character of these myth-spheres, an account of the ways in which they are transmitted from generation to generation, an analysis of their linguistic media — these are problems that remain to be worked out.

At least the outer raiments of poetry must be credited with the appeal of such creations as *Dreamland*, *Echo Park*, *Smoke Rise*, and *Whispering Breeze*. Inquiry into the ways in which members of this group attain affective force can best be subsumed under the more general study of figurative language.

In a consideration of the emotive power of the development names it is necessary to revert to the possibility of multiple references in many names. The natural-features-plus-“British” names are a sizable group that illustrates the manner in which names may receive enforcement from at least two areas of reference. Again, such a name as *Wellington Farms* (TSN 1934), besides possessing an English air, may refer specifically to the conqueror of Napoleon; and many persons who encounter it must know *Wellington* also as the name of a New York City hotel. *Chesterfield Homes* (Jamaica Estates North) has the advantage of incorporating the name (perhaps accidentally) of one of the most widely advertised cigarettes, while some prospective customers may recollect the epistolarian. Also, both *Wellington* and *Chesterfield* are found as place-names in various states. *Manton Manor* could manifest the name of a business official or some other personage in the consciousness of the originator of the name. It also has an English aspect. Furthermore, *Manton* was the name of a sometime Federal judge who was known in headlines. And a motion picture was called *The Mad Miss Manton*.

It is asked whether some of the affective power of such names does not derive from the fact of multiple reference as such — apart

from the nature of the suggestions that the names convey. Confrontation with a multiply-referent name may be pleasing as a passive equivalent of punning; it may give rise to a sense of linguistic power — an illusory pleasure, if you will. Such experience, it is supposed, would not depend on consciousness of the semantic process involved.

The example of *Chesterfield*, lately given, can be taken to illustrate the following thesis: Reference to an object that is about at a neutral point on the scale *approval-disapproval* is likely to awake a favorable response if the object is sufficiently prominent in the public mind. The force of *Chesterfield* would seem to derive in good part from its prominence from the advertising of the cigarette. Apart from *aficionados* of that smoke the public must feel indifferent about it — though surely not unconscious of it. Supposing that such a symbol as *Chesterfield* is widely effective outside a circle of smokers, it appears that its power is partly due to the mere fact of its dissemination, even though the word's emotional tone for most people be nearly neutral.

Two types of multiple reference remain to be noticed. The first is out-and-out punning, presumably exemplified among development names by such forms as *Keen*, *Monaco*, *Ruby*, and *Byrd* — all noticed earlier in this paper.

Another kind of element makes suggestions as “available irrelevances” — that is, as resultants of some accidental resemblance of sound or of spelling between the elements in question and other elements that may be etymologically, and by usual description semantically, unrelated; but apart from any presumptive intention to pun. The possibilities of *manor*, put forward in Section 4, furnish the prototype of the operations of this class. Similarly, *holme* is likely to be not far from *home* in “meaning,” being pronounced identically. The element *fold* probably carries some of the value of *enfold*, as that word is used in popular romantic songs and fiction; while *wold*, in sound (as well as by its resemblance to *old*) may carry some force of fashionable antiquity. It seems safe to say that *croft* has, peripherally, some value of *soft* with favorable tone.

Our first multiple-referent groups, then, have potentialities for multiple suggestion because a given word or element possesses two or more applications (however imperfectly some of the references may be realized by some persons). The last-mentioned group calls

up words or associations through accidental resemblances of sound or spelling.

A name may partake of both available irrelevance and a more "rational" type of suggestion (indirect symbolism on the allusive plane). *Ardmore Village* may be supposed to be primarily attractive as an "English" name, with echoes of the Forest of Arden present for some persons. But semantic lines in *Ardmore* may also run to *ardent*, especially with erotic tone; and to *moor* as the setting of romantic fiction and to *more* as the signature of plenteousness or even of a bargain.

It is evident that not all the possibilities in a multiply-referent name will be potent for all persons; even when all possibilities do operate they act with different degrees of conscious and unconscious force. The writer's debt here to William Empson's explications will be recognized.¹¹⁴ A full description of the semantic content of a multiply-suggestive name, then, would cover the ways in which its several suggestions operate — in consciousness and unconsciousness — for a representative sector of the population using the name, as well as for the bestower of the name.

At one end of a resultant scale would be those persons whose verbal sensitivity is such that for them all suggestions of a name would be activated. The remainder of the population would be arranged in descending order of suggestion-response. At the foot of the distribution would be those unable to isolate any of the suggestions contained in the name. For the latter the names might be described as solely phonetic phenomena (if any linguistic elements should be so described). Synthetic names based on personal names may be classified among those drawing strength largely from phonetic value; thus, apparently, *Luberne*. If an attempt were made to ascertain the force of names on this basis, undoubtedly the numerosness of suggestions would be found to be an oversimplified criterion. Problems of the quality of suggestions would enter — e.g., in terms of clearness and "richness."

To the degree that symbolic values of development names elude identification, one is inclined to think that some affective charm must reside in names simply as concatenations of speech sounds. On this head it is asked here whether the sounds [α^r], [εl], and

¹¹⁴ William Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, 2nd ed. (London, 1947).

[mər] do not carry some special satisfactions. Exemplifications are in *Harwick Homes* (Farmingdale, L.I.), *Marbourne Homes* (Bethpage, L.I.), *Mar-Gen Homes* (Oceanside, L.I.), *Marlane Homes* (Whitestone, Queens), *Marlen Homes* (one at East Hempstead, another at North Bellmore, L.I.), and *Milbar Heath* (NI 1947); *Delham* (Saddle River Township, N.J.), *Delworth Homes* (Freeport, L.I.), and names beginning with *Bel*, *Bell*, and *Belle*; *Altamore Farm* (TSN 1939), *Avonmore Park* (TSN 1895), *Barmore Heights* (Norwalk, Conn.), and *Ritzmore Park* (NI 1924). These phonetic elements — and others might be cited — are notable in trade names in general.¹¹⁵

A curious name, presumably mainly phonetic in its appeal, is *Revilo Heights* (in Rosedale, Queens, according to NI, and of date 1925). The attributive term of this name is probably pronounced [ˈrevilou], with *revel* the base, rather than *revile*.¹¹⁶ *Cheverly Estates* (1948), *Culluloo Park* (1915), *Ormond* (1946), *Ormonde Park* (1906), and *Reyam Manor* (1928) — all from NI — are other examples whose charm might be attributed mainly to phonetic values; any references that such names may have for their originators are likely lost on the public. Perhaps the phonetic question can best be viewed in the light of commercial names as a body, rather than only within the naming sphere here under consideration.

¹¹⁵ Cf. among commercial names *Conmar* zippers, *Mar-Gro* brassieres, and *Intra-Mar/Shipping Corp./Air Freight Division* (seen on a truck); *Bellwood Shoe Co.*, *Bel-Mar Undergarment Co.*, *Bel-Mor Knitwear*, *Belle-Sharmeer Stockings*; *Jay-Mor Restaurant* (all seen in New York City), *Traymore Hotel* (Atlantic City, N.J.), and five firms having *Worthmore* as the first word of their names and one *Worthmor*, listed in the *Manhattan, New York City, Telephone Directory, 1949–1950 Issue*. The foregoing *Bell* and *Bel* examples are from the same listing, where others can be found. *Kenmore* is the name of a line of electrical appliances of Sears, Roebuck and Company.

For *mar* the possible denotative proximity of *marvelous* must be noted. Also, in some formations that combine parts of given-names, the syllable *mar* may represent the first part of, e.g., *Mary* or *Martha*. Symbolic possibilities for *bel*, etc. were noted earlier.

¹¹⁶ The writer has seen *Revilo* as the name of a comfortable-looking motor cruiser thirty-five or forty feet long. Aside from the possibility that the person who selects or creates such a name does not know the word *revile*, questions are raised about the conditions under which undesired suggestions in an expression may be inhibited.

Inhibition of inappropriate suggestions must take place with the use of *Woodlawn* in development names. *Woodlawn* is the name of a well-known cemetery of

The frequent occurrence of forms that have little direct-symbolic value, the various and vague functioning of indirect-symbolic allusive forms, the somewhat paradoxical character of emotive values in such names as the "British" group, the repetitive use of many forms — these and other features of the names invite to speculation on the reasons for the general acceptance of development names.

It seems evident that many development names are the food of fantasy. The possibilities of fantasy of social elevation and of the romantic West have been suggested in earlier parts of this paper. (The themes just mentioned are familiar enough in much advertising for, e.g., clothing, travel, and entertainment.) Again it has been suggested that fame as a generalized quality (cf. *Chesterfield* above) may furnish agreeable tone to a name-element, perhaps with little or no symbolic content in operation. Psychoanalysis might maintain that many allusions to natural beauty involve sexual symbolism that would function even more unconsciously.¹¹⁷

But the potency of the "dream-work" present in the names obtains a special force, I surmise, from the circumstance that this dreamwork is conveyed in names. Of pertinence here, I think, is the concept of the linguistic field.

The Field Theory

The linguistic field has been conceived in various ways. Referring to the field conception of Trier, Stephen Ullmann mentions¹¹⁸ "a closely knit and articulated lexical sphere where the significance of each unit was determined by its neighbors, with their semantic areas reciprocally limiting one another and dividing up and covering the whole sphere between them." As to a conception of Ipsen's, Ullmann finds that it depends on linguistic criteria: "formal and

New York City. Nevertheless *Woodlawn Terrace* was filed as a development name in Nassau County in 1907, *Woodlawn Park* in 1924. A colony named *Woodlawn Park*, at Fanwood, N.J., was announced in *NYT* Aug. 19, 1951, R 1/6.

Contextual inhibition of "unwanted" suggestions is a subject that has not, to the writer's knowledge, been canvassed. Cf. remarks above on *Hilldale Heights*, *Sunken Meadow Heights*, etc., names which seem to carry contradictory ideas.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Sigmund Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, rev. ed., tr. Joan Riviere (Garden City, N. Y., 1938), pp. 139, 141.

¹¹⁸ *Op.cit.*, p. 157.

functional assimilation, the constitution of lexical groups cemented by tangible morphologic and semantic marks."¹¹⁹ Again: "Porzig's fields are simple relationships of the type 'verb + inherent subject or object' ('dog' — 'bark'). Those of Jolles are correlative pairs like 'right — left' ..."¹²⁰

Perhaps the field conceptions of Trier, Ipsen, Porzig, and Jolles will be comprehended in the statement that a linguistic field consists of a sector of the vocabulary (of whatever language) that possesses distinctive characteristics derived from relations among referents or among features of form or function.

It is hypothesized here that (1) names constitute a linguistic field characterized by function; (2) the onomastic field-effect is such as (a) to inhibit ordinary expectations of reference vis-à-vis the component forms of names that are compound, as development names often are; (b) to inhibit ordinary expectations of morphological contrast among units constituting the field. It may be clear that item 2b refers to the repetitious employment of some forms among names — in the present case, among development names.

By "ordinary" expectations are meant the expectations obtaining among nonproper names.

The validity of the foregoing hypothesis is supported, I think, by the fact that in spite of possible referential disorder and repetitious character of development names, native speakers of English do not appear to find them in conflict with patterns of English *langue*. Confronted by a compound development name, most of the relevant public do not require, for the component forms, the word (morpheme)-reference-referent relationships that would be required outside the onomastic field. The changed value of the component forms might be likened to the changed value of a given note or chord as tonality changes in music. To take the most obvious example, when the tonality of F has been established the triad on C has a different meaning (dominant) from what it will have (tonic) when the tonality becomes C. I attach more than figurative

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 158. Besides Ullmann's review of field theories, see that of Suzanne Öhman ("Theories of the Linguistic Field," *Word*, 9 [1953], 123-34), whose emphases, including the importance attached to Porzig's formulation, differ interestingly from those of Ullmann.

importance to this musical comparison. I venture to say that in a comprehensive description of signs an identity of psychological processes will be discovered as between a shift in the referential exactitude of name-components (such as might be a function of the onomastic field) and a shift in musical key.¹²¹

The history of naming suggests circumstances that may have made for an onomastic field-effect. The origin of place names as appellatives has been remarked for some languages at least. Appellative character also seems to loom large in early forms of personal names.¹²² Thus it appears that the hypostasization "proper name" was a relatively late development in language. Now this hypostasization must have marked a notable advance in social organization. Whether applied to places or to persons, the proper name helped to organize experience and crystallize social structure. With the advent of "proper name" the conglomerate topography became in a sense "mapped." The mass of human beings became individually distinguishable; the essentials of social hierarchy, even of social responsibility, were furthered.¹²³ Thus (present speculation continues) "name" came to be highly valued.

¹²¹ I do not find directly pertinent considerations in Charles Morris, *Signs, Language and Behavior*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1946) or in Suzanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1958), in which the author discusses (Ch. 8) musical symbolism.

¹²² On both kinds of names see Andrew Lang's part of the article "Name" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1911). Lang writes: "As to the meaning and nature of ancient local names, they are as a rule purely descriptive. A river is called by some word which merely signifies 'the water'; a hill has a name which means no more than 'the point,' 'the peak,' 'the castle.'"

However, Lang asserts that "the Celtic names (like those which the red men left in America, or the blacks in Australia) are musical with poetic fancy, and filled with interest in the aspects and the sentiment of nature." Nils Magnus Holmer seems to differ with this view of American Indian names, while furnishing corroboration of the appellative origin of most ancient place names in the languages to which he refers: "It may be said in general . . . that the American Indian place names, in so far as they are used by native speakers, are still nothing but appellatives, or in any case preserve much more of the original appellative character than most Old World place names. For although the latter too are appellatives in their origin (at least in the majority of cases) they have in the course of time assumed the character of proper names, which implies, among other things, that their meaning is seldom understood or regarded." (*Indian Place Names in North America* [Cambridge, 1948], p. 41).

¹²³ Cf. the following: "As objects and events are named, they are experienced, for names evoke the qualities of the social relation in which they are used. We

The values attached to this social structuring force of naming passed into *langue*. Proper names as a "field" are distinguished by the special values that are different from those of ordinary denotation and even from the emotive values resulting from associations of referents of nonproper names. Apart from denotation and variant emotive values, the proper names *Lily* and *Violet* possess a semantic element not present in the nouns *lily* and *violet*. Conversely the presence of the special quality residing in "name" inhibits the ordinary expectations of symbolic value in nononomastic constituents of names.¹²⁴ The effective element might be called the onomastiseme.¹²⁵

It is not maintained that the development of the onomastiseme was in the main a conscious process, though it may have been more so than most features of *langue*. On the question of purposive employment of the onomastiseme, one is reminded of the magical powers attached to names in primitive societies;¹²⁶ taboos on the utterance of some names are part of the relevant considerations

cannot act with one another or, for that matter, toward things, until we have learned the names which society has given to such action." (Hugh Dalziel Duncan, *Language and Literature in Society* [Chicago, 1953], pp. 135-36).

¹²⁴ An analogous process took place in Indo-European personal names. Elizabeth G. Withycombe describes the manner in which a personal name was formed by the compounding of two elements; but, in most IE languages, apparently without particular regard for the meaning of the elements. (*The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names* [New York, 1947 (1945)], pp. xiii-xiv).

¹²⁵ In "A System for the Description of Semantic Elements" (*Word*, 7 [1951], 1-14), Eugene A. Nida affirms the need for, and the possibility of, semantic studies. He proposes to describe meaning in terms of the ethnolinguistic environment. This leads to a distinction between the *linguiseme* ("a minimal feature of meaning based on the linguistic context") and the *ethnoseme*, which "identifies a minimal feature of meaning based on the ethnological context." Analytical elements subsequently described included *semes*, *sememes*, *episemes*, *episememes*, etc. It seems to me that Nida's system still leaves the question, How isolate the *ethnoseme(s)* in such a form as a development name? Nida would seem to dispose of some problems too shortly in his view (p. 4) that the statement of the observable relationships [among forms] "is usually not too difficult in a language which is a part of the culture in which we ourselves live (i.e. Western European)."

Of less pertinence to semantic problems of development names is Paul L. Garvin's "A Descriptive Technique for the Treatment of Meaning," (*Language*, 34 [1958], 1-32), in which the author demonstrates the semantic study of the category of obivation in Kutenai - i.e., the study of a grammatical feature.

¹²⁶ See, e.g., Ogden and Richards, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-28 and 36-37.

here. Name magic in its various aspects suggests the possibility that at some stages of social evolution the onomastiseme is exploited in the interests of maintaining the social order.

By these lights acceptance of development names whose constituents are minimally symbolic — sometimes only ostensibly symbolic — comes about as follows: The occurrence of "name" changes the "tonality" of the discourse in respect to names that occur in it. With this change in "tonality" the hearer or reader ceases to require that purported symbolism of allusive name components be available within the name's sphere of reference. The factor causing this inhibition of referential requirements might be called the onomastiseme, which is a function residing in *langue*. In effect the onomastiseme is an attenuated form of name magic, which itself prevailed or has prevailed because of the value consciously or unconsciously attached to the social-structuring effects of proper names.

Questions of Method

Additional study of development names might profitably carry further some of the procedures described in the present paper and might initiate others. The count of unbound and bound forms, in Part I, is, in the expression of David W. Reed, an example of "quantitative pre-analyses."¹²⁷ In order to judge the representativeness and the significance of at least some of the proportions arrived at for the several forms, the technique of the standard error should be applied, as Reed makes clear. A count of forms, with similar rigorous handling, would be desirable for other parts of the study.

Again, in view of the difficulty of determining the semantic content of a given development name, it is obvious that the semantic classification of names, adopted above, is in a sense a rough expedient, though useful, it is hoped, in a preliminary survey. A given development name might well be seen as belonging to more than one of the semantic categories set up. Moreover, when two semantic themes — e.g., British tone and natural beauty — are present, the proportions in which they are operative are of moment and surely defy present methods of investigation. Other cases of multiple

¹²⁷ David W. Reed, "A Statistical Approach to Quantitative Linguistic Analysis," *Word*, 5 (1949), 235-47.

suggestion — as when a name of British origin has American historical associations and is of frequent occurrence as a place name — are even more opaque. Nor is there reason to believe that the semantic content of a given development name is the same for all members of the relevant population.

As a general principle of inquiry into such a corpus as development names, it might be useful to define the characteristics of names associated with some precisely determinable social feature or features. Apropos of development names the prices of the properties included in the developments suggests itself as such a precisely determinable feature.¹²⁸ The names of developments whose component properties fall within a given price range would be compared with those occurring in other price ranges. At least some broad differences might be discoverable. These differences would seem to reflect the nature of name acceptance on various income levels — and, because of the known correlation between income and education, on various educational levels.

Once the differences had been thus generally defined, a relatively small number of interviews might sharpen the definitions. Interviewers might ask for each informant's responses to a selected group of names. Some of the names would be among those found acceptable to the informant's known or inferred economic level; other names would be typically associated with developments designed for buyers at some economic distance from the informant. Information about the informant's education should be obtainable in the interview; hence it should be possible to heighten the accuracy of the correlation between name-style acceptance and educational level.

Another source of light might be contexts — e.g., advertising — in which the names occur. In the present study contextual material was drawn on in Section 5, under the heading "Themes in the Advertising of Developments."

If the hypothesis of the social-structuring function of names is tenable, the attention given to economic and educational levels in this approach would seem to have special relevance. Moreover the interview would bring out some subjective elements of response in

¹²⁸ These prices were not ascertainable from NI and TSN, which were among the main sources for the present study. Prices are usually included in advertisements for developments.

the relevant population. Until the linguistic millennium brings means of measuring the subjective objectively, the subjective will have to be accepted with the rest of the universe. However, it is the supposition here that the teasing obscurities of meaning can be somewhat illuminated by the application of criteria based on measurable factors.

In any event perhaps it is unnecessary to be entirely pessimistic about the usefulness of subjective evidence in semantic questions. Apropos is Karl Mannheim's warning against dangers of the quantitative approach to the social sciences — of "This measurement mania, especially as it developed in the U.S.A." He writes:

Thus there are two unprofitable tendencies arising from overestimating the significance of measurement: (a) we tend to forget the real motives and interests which originally determined the choice of our problem and its formulation, and (b) we neglect all avenues of approach to reality which do not lend themselves to measurement and we call those aspects of an object real which corresponds to the limited idea of matter-of-factness.¹²⁹

Suggestive here too is an article by Sir Edmund Whittaker, "Eddington's Principle in the Philosophy of Science."¹³⁰ Whittaker sets forth the following principle:

All the quantitative propositions of physics, that is, the exact values of the pure numbers that are constants of science, may be deduced by logical reasoning from qualitative assertions, without making any use of quantitative data derived from observation.

The question takes form: Can quantitative values be similarly arrived at from qualitative assertions in the social sciences and — if a distinction is to be made — in language?

New Milford, Conn.

¹²⁹ Foreword of *The Feminine Character* by Viola Klein (New York, 1949 [1946]), p. xiii.

¹³⁰ *American Scientist*, 40 (1952), p. 46.

Indian Place Names in South America and the Antilles. III.

NILS M. HOLMER

A GREAT NUMBER OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES in South America and the Antilles, as well as in North America and, as a matter of fact, in all parts of the world, are original tribal names. The tribe, true enough, could be named from a river on which they were settled or else from any coast, plain or mountain tract where they lived permanently; in that case, the tribe name falls under any of the categories which we have dealt with above: the Tamanaco lived on the river of the same name in Venezuela (cf. above), the Pampa (or true Tehuelche) on the Argentinian plains (*pampas*) of Patagonia and the Tembe, a Brazilian tribe, on various rivers near the coast and the Amazon estuary (cf. Guarani *tembe* 'lip,' *tembe'y* 'coast, bank, shore').⁵³ On the other hand, tribes may have their proper designations as such and in that case rivers, valleys or any other place may be named for the tribe. It is typical of most "primitive" societies, at least in America, to call your tribe simply 'the people';⁵⁴ this happens when the Kechua Indians speak of themselves as the Runa, Runacuna (*Runasimi* = Kechua, 'language of the people'). The following toponyms are also tribe names: Goajira (Guajira), the name of a peninsula and Colombian territory (the name is probably identical with that of La Guaira, seaport of Caracas; from an Ara-

⁵³ In general in Amerindian semantics, 'mouth, teeth, lips,' etc., do not (as we would expect) express the 'mouth' of a river but the 'bank' or 'shore.'

⁵⁴ Although Europeans have no reason to feel superior in this respect: the important tribe of the Teutons, in ancient days, were known by this very designation (*Teutones* = 'peoples') and still today Germany is known as *Alemania*, *Allemagne*, etc., meaning in the Germanic dialects of the time 'all the men, all the folk' (Latinized *Alamanni*).

wak tribe name);⁵⁵ Aruba (in Spanish also Oruba), the Dutch island off Venezuela, if originally identical with Aruak or Allouague (i.e., Arawak);⁵⁶ Cumaná, a place on the coast in eastern Venezuela (from the Carib tribe of the same name, which is also called Cumanagoto, 'the language of the Kumana'); Río Caribe, another place on the Caribbean coast (Península de Paria, Venezuela); Guiana (cf. above; the Carib tribe living there is also called *wayana*);⁵⁷ Pasto, a city in southern Colombia (also the name of a Barbacoan tribe); Duitama, a place in Colombia (in reality identical with the Chibcha tribe name *Duit*); Puracé, a volcano in southern Colombia (cf. the tribe name *Purase*, a branch of the Paez); Mocoa, another place in Colombia (cf. the Mocoas); Achagua and Achaguas, two different cities in the interior of Venezuela (the Achagua are an Arawak tribe living on the Orinoco); Maipures, Venezuela (cf. the Arawak tribe Maipuré); Yauapery (or Jauapiri), a river in northern Amazonas, Brazil (cf. the Carib tribe name *yauaperi*); Rio Xibaru, an affluent of the Rio Negro, Amazonas, and Xibaru, a place in Alagoa, Brazil (the Jivaro Indians live in what was formerly the interior of Ecuador and were one time dreaded as head hunters; *jibaro* in Spanish is, however, the name of any savage Indian or rustic person — cf. Note 55 — and the river in question is hardly within reach of the afore-said Indian tribe); Rio Purus, the important tributary of the Amazon (cf. the Arawak tribe name *purupurú*); Rio Jamary

⁵⁵ The name is supposed to be the Goajiro *wa'iru*, meaning a 'friend'; the Goajiro Indians call themselves either *wayu*. (probably meaning something like 'ourselves') or else by the Spanish designation *wahir(u)* '*guajiro*.' *Guajiro* in Spanish also means (by analogy with so many other Indian tribe names) 'a rustic person' in general; cf. the Spanish *jibaro*, Portuguese *xibaro*, of a similar meaning, which are also used as designations of various tribes and also figure in the typonymy: *Jibaro* (Cuba), *Jeveros* or *Jeberos* (Peru), *Xibaru* (Brazil).

⁵⁶ Possibly from Arawak *arua* 'tiger, jaguar'; cf. the designation *Kogi* (supposed to mean 'tiger'), used as a name of themselves by the Kaggaba tribe in Colombia (see Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Los Kogi* (Bogotá, 1950), p. 26). On Aruba, however, the natives were usually called Caquetio, a name which has been used also of Venezuelan tribes on or near the Caribbean coast.

⁵⁷ This tribe actually has many names, which partly depend on a confusion of two different tribe names, originally not connected: the Oayana (*wayana*) and the Urucuiana (*rukuyen* or, as pronounced by the Surinam Negros, *Alukuyana*); the latter name is most likely connected with another tribe name, viz. that of the Lucayans, Arawak inhabitants of the Bahamas, and is possibly also the basis of the place name Cayenne.

(Jamari), an affluent of the Madeira in the territory of Guaporé, Brazil (on this river lives, or lived, a rather isolated tribe called the *Yamará*); Llanos de Mojos and the province of Mojos, Bolivia (cf. the Arawak tribe name *moro*); Río Baures, in eastern Bolivia (cf. the Arawak tribe Baure); Río Iténez, another name of the Río Guaporé, an affluent of the Madeira forming the boundary between Bolivia and Brazil (cf. the tribe name Iten, plural Itenes); Río Cautário — there are at least three rivers of that name in Brazil (cf. the tribe name *kautario* or *kumana*, in the territory of Guaporé); Ilha dos Tupinambaras (or Ilha Tupinambarana), formed by the Amazon and one of its branches, at the confluence with the Madeira (cf. the great Tupi-Guaranian tribe of the Tupinambá, who lived along the Atlantic coast and chiefly in Bahia, some distance away from the river island to which they have given their name); Rio Abacaxis, in Amazonas (cf. the tribe of the Abacaxis; in Tupi this word is the designation of a certain kind of pineapple); Parintins, a place on the Amazon — now an airport — in Amazonas (cf. the Tupi-Guarani tribe name Parentintin); Serra dos Parecis (or Paricis), the name of a cordillera in Mato Grosso and the territory of Guaporé, and Rio dos Parecis, also in the state of Mato Grosso (the Paressí is the name of an Arawak tribe); Curuá, a tributary of the Xingu, in the state of Pará (cf. the Guarani tribe *kuruaya*); Tapajoz, the important tributary of the Amazon (cf. the tribe name Tapajós and the closely related name form Tapañuma; these live on the upper tributaries of the river); Goiás (formerly also Goyaz), the name of a Brazilian state (evidently the same as the tribe name *goyá*, who are a division of the Ge stock of Indians); Chavantes (now officially Xavantes), river and sierra in Goiás, Brazil, and also the name of a place in São Paulo (the name is that of a Ge tribe in Goiás).

Following the Pacific coast southward from the vicinity of the Panamanian Isthmus, we find the following names which are originally designations of tribes: Chocó, the name of a territory in Colombia (we have alluded above to the tribe name Choco and to the place Noanamá, on the San Juan river, which latter name may possibly be a rather thorough corruption of a Choco tribe name, viz. that of the *waunana*); Guapí, river and place near the coast in southwestern Colombia (*guapí* is the name of a Barbacoan tribe); Piusbi, a river not far from the preceding one (cf. the Barbacoa tribe

pius); Río Cayapas, in northern Ecuador (from the *kayapa* group of the Barbacoa Indians); Tumaco, a place on the coast in Colombia, near the Ecuadorian border (cf. the Barbacoan tribe of the same name); Tumbes, a city and airport on the coast in northern Peru (also the name of a rather isolated tribe); Cajamarca and Cajamarca, cities in northern Peru (cf. the Kechua tribe of the *kasamarka*; the name in Kechua — *qašamarka* — seems to mean 'cold village'); Chachapoyas, a city in northern Peru (cf. the Kechua tribe name *chacha* or *chachapuya*); Huánuco, a province and provincial capital in northern central Peru (cf. *huanuku*, a Kechua tribe); Huamachuco, a historically known place in northern Peru (cf. *huamachuku*, another Kechuan tribe); Atacama, the name of a vast desert and of a province in northern Chile (also the name of an isolated Indian tribe; for this name cf. further along); Chiloe, the large island, archipelago and province in southern Chile (cf. the tribe name *chilote*); Chonos, the name of an archipelago further to the south (inhabited by the *chono* tribe); Cauchue, an island in the Chonos archipelago (cf. the tribe name *kaukahue*). The name Chile itself may be an original tribe name; the Araucanians called their language *chilidugu* (pronounced *čilidəgə*) 'the language of the *chili*,' but apart from the above-mentioned island name Chiloe (and *chilote*) no trace seems to be found nowadays of any such tribe name.⁵⁸

Traces of human activities, of social development, commerce and administration, etc., are relatively few within native America. This especially holds for the eastern parts of South America; in the west, where the Kechua civilization flourished, we find more traces of this. However, among the Chibcha Indians, a Sub-Andean group of

⁵⁸ It might be questioned whether the name is not originally from Kechua: *chiri* means 'cold' and such a designation would have been appropriate of the southernmost provinces of the Inca Empire, where the climate was cold and wet, but this explanation of the name Chile is nothing beyond a more or less likely guess (it has even been suggested that the name is from Aymara *chilli*, meaning 'the lower part, the end of the world'). Somewhat more realistic would be a comparison with the several river names Chile (or 'hili) — which might well correspond to the above-mentioned Kechua word meaning 'cold' — in Peru, Bolivia and Chile; there is even a Chile Chile, the name of an Andean peak near Cuzco.

tribes who attained to a certain degree of civilization, there are names such as Bogotá (the Colombian capital), of which the last element (*ta*) means a 'cultivated field' in the Chibcha language. We find the same suffix in Cúcuta (a provincial capital in northern Colombia), in Chipata, Chocontá and possibly Facatativá, all cities or provinces in Colombia. Names such as Cuñapiru (if from Guarani *kuñampiru* 'the dry or thin woman') and Paysandú (Guarani *pa'i sandu* 'holy father'), which are used as designations of cities, districts and departments in Uruguay and Argentina, appear freakish or due to European influence and the same holds for the Argentinian Curuzú-Cuatiá ('paper or book of the Cross'), the name of a place and department in the province of Corrientes. The name Carioca, which has become most famous as a designation of the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro, is originally not restricted to this sense; it is the name of various sierras and rivers, generally near Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Legend has it that the Carioca river in Rio de Janeiro had the property of bestowing beauty to the women as well as a voice to the singers among the Indians of the Tamoyo tribe (a division of the Tupinamba group of the Tupi-Guarani), living in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In Tupi *karioka* means a 'mestizo' (which may, however, be a secondary sense) and the Carijó, another division of the above group who also inhabited the coast of Brazil, may actually derive their name from an original form *karioka*. No acceptable etymology of the name seems to have been suggested, but it is probable that the last element may be the Tupi word *oka* (in Guarani *oga*, *o*) 'house,' a suffix which seems to recur in Jipioca, an island off the Brazilian coast (territory of Amapá).

In the west of South America, in the Andean region and along the coast, real settlement names are, as we have said, much more common. Among these we find first of all those ending in *-marca*, which is the Aymara word for 'village' or 'pueblo': Cajamarca and Cajamarquilla ('little Cajamarca'), which we have mentioned and commented on before (for the initial part, cf. Cajabamba, a little to the south, which corresponds to Kechua *qaśapampa* 'cold plain'); further Catamarca, the capital of the province of the same name in Argentina (the name means 'the village of the mountain slope' — in Kechua *q'ata* — and the city stands at the foot of Sierra de Am-

bato).⁵⁹ As first element we find the same word in Marcapata (a river and district in Peru). The same sense as that of *marka* is conveyed by the Kechua word *q'atu* 'market (place),' found as final element in Tupungato, now the name of an extinct volcano in the province of Mendoza, Argentina (the meaning of the name is doubtful, since the first element — if a Kechua word — could only mean a certain unit of measurement). More evident is the meaning of the word *tambo* and of the great number of names into which it enters: this is the Kechua *tampu*, originally the name of an 'encampment of the Incas' and now usually that of an 'inn' or a *venta*. The name is either used alone, as in Tambo, found both as a river name (in central and southern Peru) and as a place name (cf. Tambo Grande, in northern Peru, near the Ecuadorian border), or as first or last component of a number of names: Paucartambo, a river, town and province in Peru (Cuzco and Junín; with this name cf. Paucarbamba, Paucarcocha, Paucarcolla, Paucarmarca, all places in Peru, the word *paukar* being a designation of 'vivid colors'); Tambobamba, in the mountains near Cuzco (Kechua *tampupampa* the 'plain of the *tambo*'); Tambopata, the name of various places in Peru; Ollantaytambo, a place where important ruins from the time of the Incas are found (the name denotes the 'camp of Ollantay,' a military chief much spoken of in tradition and literature); Cajatambo, a place below Cerro de Pasco and north of Lima (the meaning is 'the cold camp'; cf. Cajamarca and Cajabamba, above). — In northern Chile, a place is called Chaca, meaning 'bridge' in Kechua.

An interesting name which seems to be of the above type is Pachacámac, a place on the coast some miles to the south of Lima, famous as an archaeological site; the name is formally identical with that of a god, Pachacámac ('Earth-Maker'), who along with Viracocha was considered as creator and principal god by the ancient Peruvians, but may in reality contain the same suffix as we find in Atacama (notice that there is a place Pachacama in Valparaiso, Chile, as well). The name Atacama itself is a tribe name, given by

⁵⁹ The name Cundinamarca, a department in Colombia (of which the capital is Bogotá), is more doubtful. One might expect it, *a priori*, to be a Chibchan name, but whatever the origin, it seems quite possible that the name form has been influenced either by Kechua names of the above type or else by the Spanish name for 'Denmark,' which is *Dinamarca*.

the Peruvians to a nation who called themselves Licantai (from Atacama *lican* 'village'?) and spoke an unrelated language (*Cunza* or *Changó*); the native tribe name probably recurs in Licancaur, a volcano in the desert of Atacama, western Bolivia (also cf. Licantén, a place rather to the south in Chile?). Both Pachacama and Atacama may be original designations of peoples; for Ata-, cf. Atamisqui, a place near Tucumán, Argentina, and Atahuallpa ('the chicken of Ata'), the name of the last of the Incas (who was put to death by order of Pizarro in 1533). If so, *-cama* would be a collective suffix used in Kechua.

In Colombia, we find a city Zipaquirá (important for its mines), which derives its name from one class of Chibcha high officials, the *zipa*, chief of Bogotá. Names which indicate human activities are perhaps also Orinoco, Urabá and Chocó, which we have mentioned in another context (cf. above, in dealing with the river names). On the other hand, names denoting an inhabited area or a country are probably exceptional. Such a one is, however, as it seems, Cuba, which would be an Arawak word meaning 'land' (cf. *akoba* 'field' or 'ground' in the dialect of Guiana); this designation would rather correspond to that of 'the mainland,' in relation to the number of smaller islands among the Antilles.

In dealing with names connected with the human element, we might finally mention the somewhat mysterious Ayacucho, the name of a province and provincial capital in central Peru,⁶⁰ and Ayabaca, a city and province in northern Peru, not far from the Ecuadorian border. The meaning of either of these names seems similar: Kechua *ayaq'uçu* 'corner of the dead bodies' and *ayapaka* 'hiding place of the dead bodies,' respectively; they seem to indicate burial grounds — Kechua *ayawasi* 'house of the dead' is equivalent to a 'tomb' —, but we cannot be certain about the real import of these place names. As regards the latter name, for instance, we have to consider also the tribe name Ayabacas or Ayahuacas, who at one time made valiant resistance to the Inca Tupac Yupanqui. More

⁶⁰ This place is known in Peruvian history through the victory won there (in 1824) by Antonio José de Sucre over the Spanish army, an event which put an end to the Spanish domination in America. It is rather unlikely that the etymology of the name is in any way connected with the battle field from colonial times. — The name Puerto Ayacucho in Venezuela is, of course, named for the battlefield and the same may hold for various other Ayacuchos, even as near as in Bolivia.

evident are the names with the element *huaca*, which is the Kechua word for any 'sacred place or object' (a 'temple' or 'tomb,' etc.), as in: Humahuaca, a place in the Argentinian province of Jujuy, and Punta Huacas, the point of the Paracas peninsula south of Lima (the former is also a tribal name, of which the meaning is doubtful; if Kechua, it would mean '*huaca* of the head,' if Aymara, the '*huaca* of the waters').

Before leaving the above type of names we shall mention some which have the appearance of fancy names. By this not quite satisfactory designation we mean names that do not fit into the current patterns, but represent the individualistic element in the toponymy (as a group, however, such names have no scientifically acceptable distinctive traits and, besides, the limits to be drawn between these names and those of current type are of course in every respect fluctuant). We have already mentioned a few "fancy" names (cf. Cuñapiru, Paysandú, above); another one is Tacurú Pucú, a place in Paraguay, of which the interpretation is 'tall ant hill' in Guarani (since it is hardly the case of an actual 'ant hill' — although these *tacurús*, transformed by humidity into real clay mounds, are often seen in Paraguay as well as in Argentina —, the "fancy" element consists in the metaphorical use of this word).⁶¹ Metaphorical names are possibly found in larger number in the European (or non-Indian) toponymy — we are accustomed to regard the Indians as essentially matter-of-fact people —, but the assumption that metaphors are absent in the place names of the native population in America is evidently a mistake.

We have dealt with the native South American toponymy in the preceding sections according to tribes and languages which can be more or less safely identified as belonging to the one or the other of the important linguistic stocks. In many parts, however, we find names which apparently contain widely spread word elements

⁶¹ The name is interesting from several points of view. First of all, the use of the word *puku* 'long' in the sense of 'tall' or 'high' (persons as well as mountains and trees), which is typical of the American Indian languages (and probably a number of others, notably the Basque language in Europe). Regarding the metaphor, it is of a not infrequent type; we only need to think of the Portuguese Pão de Açúcar 'the sugar loaf,' which occurs as a name of mountains in Brazil, among which the characteristically shaped rock at the entrance of the Bay of Guanabara is famous (analogous names are common in English toponymy as well).

that so far elude an interpretation, either owing to our comparatively limited knowledge of the vocabularies of the respective languages or to the fact that the toponymy is in certain cases much older than the spoken languages and that many names may represent a linguistic stratum which has become obsolete or, at best, survives in languages not yet sufficiently studied (or not studied at all). In these cases we can, of course, never be *certain*. However, we shall now quote a few elements which seems to recur and to be characteristic of particular areas of the South American continent, without venturing to say anything as regards their interpretation or provenience. In some few cases, however, traces are found of elements which may be current in any of the known languages, although in a different function from what we find in the toponymy.

Among toponymical elements recurring with some frequency in the Caribbean and Amazonian areas we find, for instance, *mara*, as in: Maracá, a large island off the Atlantic coast in the Brazilian territory of Amapá (cf. Maracaibo, in Venezuela — dealt with above —, Maracay, river and place in northern Venezuela, and Maraca, a river in Colombia, department of Magdalena); Marajó, another large island, in the Amazonian estuary (for the final element, cf. below); Marapanim, a river and place in Pará, Brazil; Maracassumé, a river and island in Maranhão, Brazil; Marañón (Spanish) or Maranhão (Portuguese), the name of several rivers and places, especially that of the upper course of the Amazon and that of a Brazilian state; Maranguape, a coffee-exporting place in the state of Ceará, Brazil (evidently a Guarani name; for the suffix, cf. Mamanguape, river and place in Paraíba, Brazil); Marahuaca (or Maraguaca), a mountain in southern Venezuela; Marari and Marauíá, rivers in Amazonas, Brazil. An analogous element is *guana* or *huana* (probably originally pronounced *wana* by the Indians), which is very common in northern South America and especially the Antilles: Chiriguaná, a place in northern Colombia, not far from the Venezuelan border (Chiriguano is also a tribe name); Guanaguana, a place in Venezuela (Monagas); Guanare, a river and state capital in western Venezuela; Guanape, a place in Venezuela (Anzoátegui); Bayaguana, a place in the eastern part of the Dominican Republic; Guanahani, the native name of San Salvador in the Bahamas, the first land seen by Columbus in the New World; Mariguana, another island in the Bahamas; Guana Key, in the Exuma Islands, Baha-

mas; Guanahacabibes, a peninsula in western Cuba; Guanajay, a place a little to the west of Havana; Guanabacoa, a suburb of Havana; Guanabo, a river and place on the coast east of Havana (the termination is most certainly the same locative suffix as found in, e.g., Maracaibo); Guanaja, a place on the northeastern coast of Cuba. Of still more importance is the suffix *-gua* (*-hua*), which is extremely common in the languages of the Arawak, Chibcha and Guarani linguistic stocks (and probably occurring in some others too). The meaning of this suffix is rather vague and, besides, slightly different in the different languages; in Guarani it often denotes the 'inhabitants' of a place. Such names are: Casigua, a city in western Venezuela (cf. the river Brazo Casiquiare, in Venezuela, forming a connection between the Orinoco and Amazon river basins, and Kassikassima, the name of a mountain in Dutch Guiana); Caucaguá, a small affluent of the Orinoco and a lake in western Venezuela as well as a place in Colombia (cf. Cauca, the name of a river in Colombia); Achagua and Achaguas, places in Venezuela (cf. above); Inagua, one of the larger islands in the Bahamas (cf. *inaja*, the name of a certain palm tree; the Ineri were an Indian tribe once living there); Cumanayagua, a place in central Cuba (cf. Cumaná in Venezuela, originally the name of a Caribbean tribe); Mayajigua, a place in central Cuba (cf. Mayagüez, in Puerto Rico?); Puerto de Juraguá, a small river and place in eastern Cuba; Caguaguas, a place in Cuba (Santa Clara; cf. Cagua, a place in Venezuela); Jagua, Sagua la Grande and Sagua la Chica, all rivers, places or cities in Cuba (*jagua* — probably of Arawak origin — is also the name of various trees and shrubs, especially of the genus *Genipa*, whether or not this word explains the origin of the above place name).

In the Amazonian area we find a few names containing the element *juru* (of which the meaning and origin is uncertain; in Arawak *yurua* means a 'thorn'): Juruá, an important river in Amazonas, Brazil; Juruamirim ('little Juruá'), one of the upper affluents of the Juruá; Yuruari, a river in Venezuela (this name would mean the 'upper Juru(a)' in Guarani); Jruená (or Jruena), the name of a main branch of the Tapajoz, in the state of Mato Grosso (cf. Yuruan, a river and place name); Juruá, the name of a cataract in the lower Xingu (Brazil); Juruti, a city in Pará, Brazil. There might be some connection between the above names and that of a Tupi-Guarani

tribe, *yuruna* (in Portuguese *Jurunas*), who live, or lived, in the state of Pará (on the Xingu and Iriri rivers; in that case all these names would be of Tupian origin). The element *mari*, as in Mari-Mari, rivers, islands and places in Amazonas, Brazil, may indicate an Arawak origin, as it occurs as a termination of some Arawak tribe names. There are at least two river names Paru in northern Pará, Brazil, and one lake of that name in the same state. The element *-pi* occurs in river names in southern Colombia, such as Guapí (also the name of a tribe and a place), Piusbí (cf. the tribe name *píus*), Guelmambí, Nulpí (cf. the tribe name *nulpe*), Telembí (cf. the identical tribe name), as well as in eastern Brazil (cf. Marouipi, Yaroupi, Couroupi, all in French Guiana); in the former case we have to do with a word meaning 'river' in the language of the Barbacoa Indians, who live (or lived) on these rivers, whereas in the latter case we probably have something quite different.

Names ending in *-ima* or *-ma* abound in Colombia, Venezuela and northern Brazil: Parima, the name of a sierra in southern Venezuela; Pacaraima, another one on the border of Venezuela and the Brazilian territory of Rio Branco; Roraima, a mountain top on the very boundary between Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana; Barima, a river in British Guiana; Makasseema, a place in British Guiana (cf. Note 22) and Kassikassima, a mountain in Dutch Guiana. The late Professor Paul Rivet has dealt with these names very extensively in an article which appeared in 1943;⁶² he considers them to be of Caribbean origin.

If we now turn to the culturally important western areas of the South American continent, especially the Andean region, we have a great number of unidentified name elements, of which however the majority no doubt are of Kechua or Aymara origin or else belong to a Pre-Kechua stratum. This we may say of some river names in eastern Peru and northwestern Bolivia — mainly tributaries of the Madre de Dios and the Beni —: Manú (this is also the name of a place in Ecuador), Caramanu, Chipamanu, Muimanu, Manuripi (probably 'little river'), Tahuamanu (another name of the Ortón), Pariamanu, Tacuatimanu, etc.; the element *manu* undoubtedly

⁶² *La influencia Karib en Colombia*, pp. 55–93 (and especially pp. 80–81, 83–84). According to Rivet, this suffix has an "augmentative" force (hence = 'great' or 'big'); the name of Tolima, a high peak in Colombia, would for instance mean 'much snow.'

means 'river' or 'water,' but is neither a Kechua nor an Aymara word (incidentally, the Indian tribes who inhabit, or inhabited, the corresponding area are the Takana, of whom the Cavinás are a branch; they have been supposed — but evidently on insufficient grounds — to have Panoan or else Arawak affinities).

Further south we find the elements *villca* (or *velica*), *roma*, *rica*, *gasta*, *lasta* — all in names which otherwise seem to be of Kechua type: Vilca (a river in Bolivia and a place in Peru), Vilcas (a river and town in Peru), Vilcabamba (places in Bolivia and Peru), Chumbivilcas (the name of a Peruvian province), Vilcias Huaman (or Vilcashuamán; an ancient province in Peru); Huancavelica, a department and department capital to the northwest of Cuzco (Kechua *wanka* means a 'separate stone block,' as in Huancabamba, a common river, mountain and place name in Peru; the name Huancavelica has, however, been derived by some from Aymara *huanca villca*, supposedly meaning a 'sun-worshiping place,' which, of course, is very little convincing); further Vilcapampa and Vilcapata (the names of places in Peru), Pativilca (a mountain, river and town north of Lima, Peru) and Nudo de Vilcanota (a cordillera in Peru; cf. the name Capinota, a city in Bolivia, south of Cochabamba); the word *huillca* does occur in Kechua as a name of a species of the 'carob tree,' whereas in Aymara it would mean an 'idol' (cf. above). Of names with *roma*, we may quote Socaroma (a place in northern Chile). Of names with *rica* we have Tinguiririca (the name of a river and volcano on the Chilean-Argentinian border and also that of a peak near Ollantaytambo, in Cuzco, Peru; the Kechua *tink'i* means 'twin') and Villarica (a place in the southern Chilean Andes; the name may have become associated with the Spanish Villarrica). The termination *-lasta* is found in Tomalasta (a mountain peak in the province of San Luis, Argentina), while *-gasta* occurs in Antofagasta (an important seaport in northern Chile; the first part of the name we have discussed earlier), Tinogasta (a district and town in the Argentinian province of Catamarca) and Vichigasta (in La Rioja, Argentina; cf. Vichiculen, a place in Valparaíso, Chile, which latter probably is an Araucanian name). Of Araucanian origin is undoubtedly also *pilla* (Lázaro Flury thinks it represents a word meaning 'volcano,' but this is uncertain), as in Melipilla (a place to the southwest of Santiago, Chile; cf. the moun-

tain name Melimoyu in southern Chile — *meli* is 'four' in Araucanian) and Tocopilla (also near Santiago, Chile).

Quite a few names in the Andean region and along the Pacific coast end in *-co* (or *-go*): Tumaco (a place on the coast in southern Colombia; also a tribe name, cf. above); Aguarico (a river in Ecuador); Huánuco (a city below Cerro de Pasco, in northern central Peru; also a tribe name); Otuzco (a mining city near the coast in northern Peru, etc. (we have only quoted forms in which it is likelier to be the question of a special termination than of the final part of the stem word). Of such terminations in the Amerindian languages we know of a locative (or local) suffix (which, incidentally, is the one so frequently found in Mexican place names: Xochicalco, Xochimilco, Tlaltenango, etc.; it is also found in Arawak and other languages)⁶³ and further of a noun meaning 'water' or 'river' (found in Caribbean and Araucanian); it is unquestionable that most of the names in *-co* in central and southern Chile are Araucanian (Pinco, Huasco, Rengo, Chanco, etc.; cf. under the river names), but those quoted above fall entirely outside of the Araucanian area (they may, however, very well be of Pre-Kechua origin).

One of the most important and interesting general terminations in the South American as well as in the North American place names is the Amerindian suffix **-yo*, which the author of this study has dealt with — although rather summarily — in another context.⁶⁴ It is, however, a highly elusive element when occurring in the South American toponymy, since it is actually found as a suffix in very few of the languages through which we are able to interpret the names in question. Among these languages we find, however, representatives within the two important groups of languages, which, as we have said in another place, furnish material for the vast majority of the place names in South America, viz. Kechua and the languages of the Tupi-Guarani stock. In the former language we have a suffix *-yu-* (usually *-yuq*) which approximately renders the idea of "having" or "provided with" (Kechua *wasi-yuq* equals 'having a house' or 'owner of a house,' etc.); in Guarani the corresponding element is either an infix (*-jo-*, *-ju-* or, nasalized, *-ño-*, *-ñu-*)

⁶³ Cf. the author's *Indian Place Names in North America*, pp. 23 sqq.

⁶⁴ See *Indian Place Names in North America*, pp. 17, 18.

meaning 'one another' (*o-jo-hayhu* or *o-ju-ayhu* 'they love each other,' *o-ño-pytyvō* 'they help one another') or else a suffix (*-ño*, which represents a nasalized form of the original **-yo*) meaning 'alone' (e.g., *ha'ëño* 'he alone'). In the place names the forms are (in Brazil) either *-jo* or *-ju* (which alternate according to certain rules and also according to the dialects) or *-ño*-, but the former occur more frequently. Semantically, it would seem difficult to combine so different functions as those of the above-mentioned elements in Kechua and Tupi-Guarani, so as to conform to our traditional way of thinking (a fundamental sense 'one,' 'very,' 'the essence of' might be suggested),⁶⁵ but it is doubtless that the meaning of these elements, when occurring in the toponymy, is one and the same: something like 'the very' or in some cases — as suggested in the work quoted in Note 64 — even 'the big' or 'the great.'

Although known as a formative element in Kechua and Guarani only (to limit ourselves to the more important languages), the suffix undoubtedly occurs in place names within a much wider area. Let us begin with the north and northeast of the continent (as we have generally done before) in order to give a brief enumeration of some typical names of this kind: *Marañón* (or in Portuguese *Maranhão*), apparently an older name of the Amazon river, now limited to its upper course or to an area along its lower course, surviving in the name of the Brazilian state of *Maranhão* (in Portuguese the upper course of the Amazon is alternatively called *Solimões*, in Tupi *surimã*, from an original tribe name); *Tocuyo*, the name of a river and city in western Venezuela; *Marajó*, an island in the Amazon estuary — the largest one in Brazil — in the state of *Pará* (for the element *mara*-, cf. above; the island was one time inhabited by Arawak Indians and the name *Marajó* is probably essentially the same form as that of *Marañón*); *Paranayuba*, an upper affluent of the *Xingu*, in *Mato Grosso*, Brazil (*-ba* is a locative suffix; cf. above); *Mocajuba*, a place on the lower *Tocantins*, in *Pará*, Brazil (notice that *-juba* is a common termination of Tupian names and words, in which it has a rather special meaning); *Moju*, a small river in *Pará* (on this river lived a Guarani tribe, the *Amanajó* or *Manajó*; in the tribe name the same suffix appears); *Maceió* (or *Ponta Massaió*), a point on the Atlantic coast, in *Ceará*, Brazil

⁶⁵ Cf. the author's *Some semantic parallels in Cuna and Kaggaba*, p. 196.

(Maceió is also the name of the capital of the Brazilian state of Alagoa); Garanhuns, a place and mountain in Pernambuco (also the name of an Indian tribe; another tribe, the Carnijó, have been living in the vicinity); Aracaju, a seaport in the state of Sergipe, Brazil; Piraju and Pirajuí, cities in São Paulo, Brazil (the latter with an additional suffix, either the form *-y* 'water, river' or the diminutive *-i*); (perhaps) Tapajoz, the big southern tributary of the Amazon (cf. above; other Tupi-Guarani tribe names from the same stem are: Tapé, Tapuí, Tapieté, Tapihiya, Tapuya); Jequitinhonha, the important river in Minas Gerais and Bahia (the name is of Tupi-Guarani origin; **jekyty-ño* would mean 'soapberry trees only' in Guarani, but the termination may be that of a Tupian language); Maracaju, the name of a mountain chain on the Paraguay-Brazil border (the Guarani form of the name is *Mbarakaju*, meaning 'only or all calabash trees,' cf. above in dealing with the vegetation names; sometimes, however, the suffix *-ju* in Guarani words and names is the word *ju* 'yellow'). — Along the Pacific coast and in the Andes, we find the following names: Hualgayoc, a place inland in northern Peru (in Kechua *wal'qayuq* would mean 'having a necklace or collar'; cf. some of the mountain names in the same region with which we have dealt above); Vilcayoc, a place in Peru (Ancachs; perhaps = 'having *huilca* or carob trees'); Chiclayo, a seaport, also in northern Peru; Huancayo, a place and province east of the Lima, Peru (in Kechua *wanka* denotes an 'isolated big rock or stone'; hence the name would mean 'all big rocks,' 'the place having rocks' or something similar).

By and large, we notice in the South American toponymy name forms which recur in areas rather far apart: Samana Key, in the Bahamas, recalls Samaná in eastern Haiti; Cumanayagua, in central Cuba (cf. above) contains the same word stem as we find in Cumaná, in Venezuela; Puerto del Manatí, on the north coast of Cuba, is no doubt the same as Manatí, in Puerto Rico, and Bayamo, in Cuba, the same as Bayamón, in Puerto Rico. In other words, we have the same state of things as when we find the same — or originally the same — name of islands in Oceania so far apart as Hawaii and Savaii, the latter the largest island of Samoa.

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Lund, Sweden

Interview

GEORGE R. STEWART ON NAMES OF HIS CHARACTERS

[This interview was recorded on June 29, 1959, at Berkeley, California. The interviewee is George R. Stewart (indicated below by the initial S). The interviewer is Joseph M. Backus (indicated below by the letter I). The original interview has been edited, and the final text has been checked by Mr. Stewart for accuracy. This is the second such interview to appear in *Names*, the first having been with C. S. Forester (Vol. 1, [1953], pp. 245 to 251)].

I. Mr. Stewart, the readers of *Names* know your work on place names and other actual names. But, as a novelist, you have also worked with character names. Can you tell me how many novels you have written?

S. That's an easy question for a first one. I have written seven novels.

I. Can you give me an idea how many character names in all you have originated in your novels?

S. Just for a very quick estimate, I should say that I might have applied at least two hundred fictional names for characters, and in addition there would be perhaps half as many names for animals, ships, and especially for places.

I. You have probably made up more place names than most novelists have. Wouldn't you say so?

S. Yes, I suppose that has been something of a specialty of mine, probably because I have been particularly interested in place names.

I. I remember you have also named storms, forest fires, years — and probably some other inanimate objects as well. But before considering such names, I would like to ask about the names of human characters. In looking over your novels, I have found that *Doctor's Oral* contains what I suspect to be the largest number of character names — forty. Have you used any more than that in any one of your other novels?

S. I should think that there would be more in *Fire* and *The Years of the City* — and certainly so, if you count names of places.

I. In any case — since, in dealing with academic life, *Doctor's Oral* comes close to your own experience — I should imagine its character names would have to have been chosen in a way that would insure their not being identified with actual persons. To achieve this end, was any system of coinage used for these names?

S. I should not say that there was any actual system used. I took care with the unpleasant characters to have names which probably either did not exist or would be very rare. For instance, with Professor Martiness I made up a name which as far as I know does not exist, but which in my mind was a kind of combination of Martin and Martinez. It was also suitable enough, because of being thus made up, it was a somewhat exotic name for an exotic character.

I. Another unlikeable faculty member, Professor Brice, however, bears an actual surname that is not uncommon. Did this name cause the character to be identified with any real person?

S. Not so far as I know. The whole name, J. MacNair Brice, is an unlikely combination, and also seemed suitable for the character, being a somewhat gadgety name for a rather gadgety person.

I. For this novel, did you draw from lists of actual names, such as telephone directories or college catalogues — as novelists are sometimes said to do?

S. I don't think that I have ever used such lists. In *The Years of the City*, I compiled one for myself. That story deals with a very early time in Greek history when I would have had some difficulty knowing which names were in use. I went through some works which deal with this little known period, and from them compiled a list of about a hundred names actually recorded from that time. I kept this list handy when writing the book, and generally picked my names from it.

I. Did you ever make use of the names of friends or actual persons for fictional purposes?

S. Yes — but I think in only the two novels, *Fire* and *Earth Abides*. For *Fire*, I had to draw a detailed fictional map of the whole region, and this involved supplying fictional place names. I tried to proportion these so that the name-pattern would give the effect that might be expected in the region — that is, there were some descriptive names, some incident names, and so forth. In this way, I used the names of a number of my friends — on Hart Creek, for example — and they all seemed quite pleased with it. Rather amusingly, however, one of them told me he was disappointed because his name appeared on the map, but he did not find it in the text. The reason, of course, was that I had put the names all on the map, but it was not actually needful to use that particular name in the story. I also made a few references to professors in the University in that book, who are real professors, also my friends. In *Earth Abides*, I used my own house in the story. At that time, I lived on San Luis Road in Berkeley, and so I used San Lupo Drive. That made it seem natural to refer to some of my neighbors, who lived on the street, and so, incidentally, the Hart name came in again. One of the boys there afterwards yelled at me reproachfully because I had put the Hatfields' cat in the book, but did not mention his own dog. Hutsonville in that book has also been noted by one of my friends as being named for him.

I. Sometimes in your novels the name of a character appears without introduction, as the first word. But the chief character in *Earth Abides* is known only as "he" until he identifies himself by means of his signature after the first four pages. Can you tell the purpose of withholding the name?

S. I think that I withheld the name because here and elsewhere throughout that book I was trying to universalize the effect as much as possible, in order to make the reader feel some identification with the chief character.

I. Another question about the same character — why did you choose the unusual name Isherwood Williams for the character who survives a cosmic disaster and becomes the re-founder of the human race?

S. You are getting, now, really deep into professional secrets. If I was going to give him the name Isherwood, a very uncommon one, I would naturally balance it to some extent by giving him a common family name, so that his full name would not seem entirely impossible. The real question, however, involves Isherwood, though he is not called that in the book. He is known as Ish, and Isherwood was

the name that I gave him so that he would have a name from which Ish could be derived. The use of Ish itself is merely a variant of the device frequently used by novelists and dramatists to give their characters universality, although at the same time to conceal it, so that the name becomes a private, or semi-private, code. In short, *ish* in Hebrew means "man."

I. Ish's wife is called Em, short for Emma. Does this name have significance?

S. Well, the Hebrew for woman is *ishah*, which is, incidentally, now the trade name of a widely advertised perfume. But I could not very well have Ish meet a girl named Ishah. Em, however, is really a mother-character, and *em* means "mother" in Hebrew.

I. Are there any more names in *Earth Abides* that have similar significance?

S. Most of them do not. The only other significant name is Ezra, which means "helper" in Hebrew. In fact, near the end of the book, Ish refers to Ezra as "my good helper."

I. Did any of your readers understand the significance of these names?

S. At least one person wrote me. I think he was a rabbi. Rather interestingly, he inquired if I knew what the names meant, or had stumbled on them by accident.

I. Do names in your other novels have any special significance?

S. I have avoided giving names, like Mr. Goodhart or Miss Flutters, which label character crudely. If I have done this, it has at least been covered up by some foreign language and has not been, I hope, too obvious. On the whole, I think that my use of names has become more free and imaginative, as my novels have progressed and I got a greater feeling of competence in what I was doing.

I. Do you think that moving in this direction represents an improvement in novelistic technique?

S. I am hardly the one to make such a judgment. Probably the reason why I have moved in this direction has been that I was trying, more and more, to universalize the experience in my novels. In *The Years of the City*, I used a device which one reviewer spotted and did not like. That novel is in four parts, each one centered in a particular character, who is in each case the son of the preceding one. As the reviewer noted, the names of these characters ran in a series A, B, C, D — for their initials. (Actually, I suppose it should have been A, B, G, D, since that is the order of the Greek alphabet.) I still treasure the detail, however, that the reviewer did not notice there are five in the series, because there is finally a character who is supposed to carry the story on still farther, and his name begins with an E. These names also had some slight significance, or suggestion of it, as is pointed out in the book itself here and there. Archias, while a real Greek name of the early period, suggests the beginning, as we see in the word "archaic" itself. Bion, his son, has a name derived from a word meaning "life," and it is suggested in the book that he is given this name as a good omen, since he is born to his parents as a first child — when his father is already old — and so there is the particular need that he should cling to life. It is also a good name in the course of the novel, since Bion represents the strength of the city. Callias is from the word meaning "beauty," and this suggests that the city has left its period of strength and is moving on to a kind of aesthetic middle age. Diothemis is probably rather bad Greek, but I coined it with the suggestion that it would mean the judgment of God, since Diothemis lives in the time of the city when

it is approaching destruction, partly because of the sins of the fathers. The last one is Eschatz, which is obviously not good Greek. I used it to suggest that things had gone to pieces very badly, and that this barbarism (really a misunderstood baby name) was to be connected with the Greek word meaning "last."

I. Can you tell me something about the name of the city itself — Phrax?

S. More time and thought went into the selection or fabrication of that monosyllabic name than the reader might imagine. In the first place, there is, as far as I know, no such name in the records of antiquity. For my city, I wanted a "practical" name, that is, one which would not give too much trouble in pronunciation and one which would yield a good ethnic name — that is, Phragians — for the citizens of that city. I also did not want a Greek name, because the Greeks very rarely used a Greek name for one of their cities. So I made up a name from mere sounds, with the suggestion that this was some barbarous local name which the Greeks had taken over. There is a scene in the novel describing how they learned what the name of the place was. I used the same general practice for the other place names of the novel — that is, they are not Greek and have no meaning.

I. When you plan a novel, do you work out the place names and the names of characters before you begin to write?

S. Yes, I do. Of course, in writing a novel, one often has to use names for characters who may just appear incidentally, and it is not possible to think up names for them all in advance. On the whole, I would say that this is a good practice — to have names worked out ahead of time in so far as it is possible. When you are using a map, for instance, it becomes almost obligatory to get the names on the map properly, or you will get into difficulty and inconsistency before the end of the book.

I. Among the characters in your novels, do you have a favorite name?

S. There are many such names — ones that I like. But at this time I might say that I think anyone — most of all perhaps the author himself — must have difficulty in separating his feeling about the name from his feeling about the character. If a character comes off successfully, you have a feeling that the name, too, comes off successfully, and so is a suitable name. In fact, this brings me to say something about characters' names more in general. Although there would seem to be "suitable" names, the matter is not as simple as some people think. It seems to me something of a chicken-egg problem — as to which came first. It is like the argument as to whether a certain line of poetry is a good line because of its haunting rhythm or whether we think it to have a haunting rhythm because it is a good line to begin with. But to return to characters — when Shakespeare wrote a tragedy about Hamlet, did he think that Hamlet was a particularly good name for a tragic hero? After *Hamlet* proved to be a supremely successful tragedy, the name, by that very process, became a suitable one for a tragic hero. If *Hamlet* had been a comic play, doubtless Hamlet would be a good name for a comic character. In other words, if a character comes off successfully, you naturally begin to think that his name is a suitable name for that sort of character.

I. Can you give an example from your own work?

S. Well, a very minor character who appears in both *Storm* and *Fire* is Johnny Martley —

I. Why do you call him Johnny instead of John?

S. Oh, just because he is never mentioned except as Johnny — though that, of course, brings up the much larger question as to how much existence a character may be said to have in a novelist's imagination aside from what goes on paper. I suppose on the books of the utility company for which he worked he was carried as John, but he is always Johnny in the novel. And since Johnny Martley makes a pair of good trochees, that is undoubtedly one reason I think of it as a suitable name for a character who had a lot of energy and a certain amount of jauntiness.

I. Gelett Burgess, in discussing character names, indicated that he used geographical prefixes and suffixes to suggest a character's aristocratic background. Did you have any similar ideas in using Hawkhurst, or Holtby?

S. Everyone is likely to have certain associations with name-elements. I do not think that I have any particular predilection for names containing elements referring to place, even though I used those you mention. I think I have used such names somewhat commonly, because, by taking the elements of names apart, and then recombining them, you are often able to coin a name which seems quite familiar, and yet may not exist at all — and is therefore a safe name for a novelist to use. Holtby may be an example. It looks like a regular name, but I don't think you will find it in the telephone book.

I. Can you say which of your names have been best accepted by readers?

S. I have always been pleased with the acceptance of Ponderosa National Forest. The name is in itself an obvious one, since "ponderosa" is the name of a common type of pine. To create the forest, I shoved the Plumas and Tahoe forests apart, and put the Ponderosa between them. The name was successful enough to make people stop in at the southern-most ranger station of the Plumas Forest and ask where the Ponderosa Forest was. They had been driving north through the Tahoe, expecting to come to the Ponderosa, but suddenly found themselves in the Plumas.

I. In an article in *Names* [3(1955), p. 34], Erwin Gudde indicated that *Storm* established a precedent that meteorologists have since followed in assigning girls' names to hurricanes.

S. I believe that is correct. The question might still be raised, however, why I called the storm Maria. As I have indicated in an introduction I wrote for a later edition of the novel, the name is to be pronounced in the English and not in the Spanish manner. For some reason, quite possibly because of the sound, Maria has come to have in English a certain loud and boisterous quality. At least, it had that association for me, and I think that this is why the storm got the name it did. . . . Going back to your earlier question, I suppose that I would really have to say, on my own premises, that Maria is my favorite name. At least, it seems to be the most successful one. It has been used in a song-hit, in the line "They call the wind Maria." I have also heard on the radio that "the storm was a regular Maria" and seen such references as "Maria has become a part of American folklore."

I. Is there anything you would like to add generally about the names in your novels?

S. I could certainly say a great deal more, but I think that perhaps Maria is as good a name as any with which to end.

Book Reviews

Acronyms Dictionary. 1st Edition. By Gale Research Company, Book Tower, Detroit 26, Michigan, 1960. Pp. 211 \$10.00.

Alphabet-soup agencies and groups have multiplied so rapidly since, say, 1932, that such a work as *Acronyms Dictionary* produced by F. G. Ruffner of Gale Research Company has become a necessity. Even the most erudite now needs aid to learn what CIA means when he sees the acronym in a national newspaper or magazine. Sometimes the context will supply an explanation, but we find listed under CIA such organizations as Cigar Institute of America, Correctional Industries Association, Central Intelligence Agency, and five others. ASA, with thirty-three entries, has the largest listing, followed by ACA, 18, and APA, 15. ANS has three: American Name Society, American Nuclear Society, and American Numismatic Society. In all, there are more than 12,000 acronyms listed, surely enough to satisfy all except the most meticulous and curious.

Many of the acronyms have become a part of the wordstock of English: CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere); JEEP, now written as "jeep" without any awareness that the word is an acronym (General Purpose $\frac{1}{4}$ -ton Military Utility Vehicle); WREN (Member of British Women's Reserve Naval Service); WAVES (Women accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service); WAC (Women's Army Corps); VEEP (Jeep Equipped with Very High Frequency Radio; Vice President); SPAR (Coast Guard Women's Reserve: *Semper Paratus* — Always Ready, USCG Motto); SNAFU (Situation Normal, All Fouled Up); and possibly SCUBA (Self-Contained Underwater Breathing Apparatus), now a part of every skindiver's equipment.

Some are not without humor. SNAFU is written with its euphemism "fouled," but another term obviously can be, and usually is, substituted for "fouled." SEABEE and SPAR might not pass muster with local censors who recognize the salty — if corny — humor hidden in the acronyms. ICBM, known to practically everyone who reads, almost qualifies as a "sick" acronym. MUTT (Military Utility Tactical Truck), the obsolete acronym CINCUS (Commander-in-Chief, US Fleet), SOFT (Status of Forces Treaty), SOAP (Symbolic

Optimum Assembly Programming), SNORT (Supersonic Naval Ordnance Research Track), PEP (Promoting Eternal Peace Association), and TEA (Technical Engineers Association) are among many that seem to be amusing, whether their creators intended them to be or not. On the whole, taboo and pejorative words formed from acronyms, CINCUS, for instance, must be avoided, especially if sensitive feelings are involved.

An adequate introduction gives the historical background, the development of the word "acronym," and how acronyms came about, along with a discussion of definition, style, and pronunciation. Pedantically, one would wish for a better introduction and a representative bibliography. Perhaps some of the more obsolete acronyms — AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Administration) and CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) come to mind immediately — could be listed in the promised future editions. Since *Acronyms Dictionary* will be used primarily as a reference book, historical acronyms would be a valuable and welcome addition. These desires, however, may be merely a greediness for more icing on an already substantially decorated cake.

Acronyms Dictionary should become the standard reference to alphabetical designations. It will certainly be expanded in future editions, and readers can submit recommendations for new listings on forms provided in the back of the book. This work deserves an important place on the special dictionary reference shelf of any institutional or personal library.

Kelsie B. Harder

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Baby Name Finder. By J. E. Schmidt. Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois. 1960. Pp. xx, 390. \$10.50.

Dr. J. E. Schmidt, the compiler of a number of dictionaries pertaining to medicine, among them the *Dictionary of Medical Slang and Related Esoteric Expressions*, *Medical Discoveries: Who and When*, *Reversion: A Medical Word Finder*, and one of the terms of narcotic slang, has now compiled a list of 4,200 living names for boys and girls so that parents may select a suitable name for the

new arrival. Every one knows individuals with unfortunate names, a cross which is often borne throughout life, as Ima Hogg, Ura Hogg, and Fancy Collar.

Each name has its own meaning and history, but few persons understand the meaning of their names and few realize the importance of naming. Writers, particularly of novels, plays, and short stories, often put a great deal of thought on the designations of their characters, for they have become cognizant of the connotation of a name. Consider, for example, Dickens' 'umble Uriah Heep, the incurable optimist, Wilkins Micawber, and David Copperfield himself in the novel by the same name; or the clever, unprincipled intriguer Becky Sharp of Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*; or Meredith's beauty of wit and charm, Diana of the Crossways, whose impulsiveness often placed her in conflict with convention; or Hawthorne's Reverend Arthur Dimmesdale, the father of Hester Prynne's illegitimate daughter Pearl, in *Scarlet Letter*. One can go on and on, but these few should suffice to show the significance of naming.

At the beginning of the book there is a short history of naming as it grew up in society, showing how physical characteristics, occupations, and places of birth or residence were important influences in giving appellations to individuals. The volume, however, consists principally of two parts, the first of which lists alphabetically the names. Each name is followed by its etymological derivation and wherever possible by historical background. For instance, the meaning given for Agnes is "the chaste one" from the Greek *hagne* "chaste." Diminutives, variants, and equivalents also follow, as Aggie for Agnes; or Dorothy, Doll, Dollie, Dolly, Dora, Dot, Dotty for Dorothea, "the gift of God," from the Greek Δωροθέα (*dōron*) "gift" and θεός [*theós*] "god"); or the French Pierre, the Italian Pietro, the Spanish Pedro for Peter, "the rock," from the Greek *pétra* (πέτρα) "rock." The historical background is illustrated in the brief description given for Noah from the Hebrew *nahem*, "to comfort": "In the Bible, the patriarch who built an ark and saved all living species from the flood."

The second part gives in alphabetical order for easy reference the various qualities and ideas expressed by the names. If a parent wishes to select a name for the expected baby on the basis of some desirable characteristic implied in the name, as courage, loyalty,

leadership, constancy, he may without difficulty find a name which he may hope will serve as a guide to the child when its meaning is later explained. For example, the quality of faithfulness is to be found in Cordelia (symbol of faithfulness in Shakespeare's *King Lear*), Penelope (personification of wifely loyalty to Ulysses), Enid (a model of marital faithfulness in Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*), names for girls; and in Durwin (a faithful friend), Aylwin (a faithful friend of many years), Dillon (the faithful, staunch, incorruptible, from the Celtic), Caleb (the faithful and constant, from the Hebrew *kelev*, "a dog," in reference to its faithfulness), names for boys.

Along with the many suggested names are 200 pictures of babies, some being full page illustrations. Three-fourths of these could have well been omitted. The book would then have been less expensive and served its purpose better for those seriously interested in selecting a name. One often wonders about the interpretation of the name, but for those seeking a name for a baby, it will open many suggestions and give the parents some knowledge of the name chosen. Those seriously interested in onomastics will undoubtedly turn to another volume.

Margaret M. Bryant

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Ellis Davies, *Flintshire Place-Names*. Published on behalf of the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales. Cardiff. University of Wales Press, 1959. Pp. 184.

This book contains a collection of approximately 1300 place names of Flintshire (northeast Wales) with a preface by the author, a bibliography, and an appendix of nine additional names. These names are not classified in any way, but are listed in alphabetical order. With only a few exceptions, they are old names still in use, or which have disappeared from use, and which have been found recorded in various manuscripts, lists, deeds, Church records, etc. All types of place names have been included, ranging from names of villages, parishes, and rivers to those of brooks, fields, and mounds which may long since have disappeared. The location within the

county for each place is given, along with earlier forms of the name when found, and an etymology. It was the author's aim not only to find an etymology for each name, but a reason for its adoption as well. Some names have defied explanation and in such cases they are merely listed with whatever information was found.

It is unfortunate that the compiler has generally excluded from his work names given in modern times. The few modern names that do appear are those which apparently were meaningful to him. For example, he lists *Wal Goch* (p. 184) as the present name of a farmstead, so called because of a red brick wall which bounds it on the road side. *Forest* is also listed as the name given by the owner of a house built in 1937, because his family hailed from "Forest," a farm in Llansannan parish. Today it is spelled *For Rest*, because it was acquired by the present occupant "for rest" after retirement. Yet the modern form *Cadole*, given under the entry *Cat Hole*, *Cathole Mine*, is dismissed as meaningless. Might it not be possible that the original meaning of the word *cathole* "a hole in a ship for a hawser or chain to pass through," for which the mine was originally named, was forgotten in time? The modern spelling *Cadole* might simply represent someone's studied attempt to avoid a word whose real meaning was unknown to him and which was distasteful as well, and to represent in the spelling a common pronunciation of the name. At any rate, an explanation for the modern form should be found, since without it the history of the name is not complete. The author deplores the fact that old names are changed and fears that interesting ones might be lost in the process. In reply it might be said that modern names also have their place in the study of onomastics and from them as well as from the old, much information can be gleaned. The exclusion of modern names from this volume is, however, a relatively unimportant shortcoming. It is the complete listing of the old names gathered from all sources available to the author that will be welcomed by future investigators of this field. A more regrettable omission, perhaps, is an adequate guide to the pronunciation of the Welsh names.

The task of compiling these names was the more difficult not only because Flintshire contains names of English, Norman, and Welsh origin, but also because English names were not infrequently assimilated to the Welsh language. The many years of devoted and

painstaking scholarship by the author, who has already twice been awarded the National Eisteddfod Prize, have resulted in a valuable contribution to the study of Welsh place names.

Ruth L. Pearce

Bryn Maur College

Fryske Stúdzjes oanbean oan Prof. Dr. J. H. Brouwer op syn sechstichste jierdei 23 augustus 1960. Assen (Netherlands), Van Gorcum & Co., 1960. Pp. 495.

"Frisian Studies presented to Prof. J. H. Brouwer on his sixtieth birthday, August 23, 1960" is an English translation of the original Frisian title of this volume. Near the end of the work (pp. 475 to 479) a chronological listing is given of the writings of the (University of) Groningen Frisianist to whom the volume is dedicated. Contributions made by him to Frisian name research are not found wanting. It is therefore not unfitting that a given number of the "studies" be in the field of onomastics. The eight articles classified under *Nammekunde* (Frisian for onomastics) were written in four languages.

The first article, in German, is by H. Kuhn (Laboe-Kiel), "Vorgermanische Personennamen bei den Friesen" (= Pre-Germanic Personal Names among the Frisians), pp. 379–388. The article following is also in German: W. Laur (Schleswig), "Nordseegermanische lautliche Merkmale in den niederdeutschen Ortsnamen Schleswig-Holsteins" (= North Sea Germanic Sound Traits in the Low German Place Names of Schleswig-Holstein), pp. 389–398. Next comes a study written in Dutch: K. Roelandts (Herent-Leuven), "De Antwerpse ingweonismen" (The Antwerp [Area] Ingvaenisms) (with a map), pp. 399–412. Fourth among our onomastic contributions is one in English: G. Droege (Chicago), "Frisian Given Names in French Flanders?," pp. 413–418. The fifth contribution is in Dutch: D. P. Blok (Amsterdam), "*Oud in Holland*" (*Old in Holland*), pp. 419–423. Article no. 6 is also in Dutch: H. Halbertsma (Amersfoort), "Taalkunde in het licht der Oudheidkunde" (Language Science in the Light of the Study of [Medieval] History). "Weyn-britzera auld deel" (with a map and an aerial photograph), pp. 425 to 460. The 7th article appears in Frisian (a separate literary language spoken by an estimated 460,000 citizens of the Netherlands): J. J. Spahr van der Hoek (Beestersweach), "Praeposysjes

by inkelde skiften delsettingsnammen yn Westerlauwersk Fryslân" (Prepositions [used] with a Few Categories of Settlement Names in Westerlauwers Friesland), pp. 461–465. The eighth and last contribution to onomastics, in German, is: A. Johannsen (Handewitt), "Ove. Personennamenstudie aus Nordfriesland" (Ove. North Frisian Personal Name Study), pp. 467–471.

Only a word can be said about the above studies. Professor Kuhn (of Kiel) notes that Frisian personal names beginning with *p*, or ending in the unshifted diminutive *-k*-suffix and in *-s* or *-st*, hark back to borrowings made by the Germanic world in general and partially preserved only by the Frisian world in particular. Laur and Professor Roelandts (of Louvain) concern themselves with "North Sea Germanic" or "Ingvaemonic," that is to say, with English- and Frisian-like place name forms in a (true) Saxon and in a Southwest Netherlands region, respectively. Laur observes that Frisian [ts] assibilated *k*/palatals represents a further palatalization beyond English [t/] (contrast Frisian *tsjernje* with English *churn*). In Low German place names, where the original Germanic *k* has not re-established itself, the *t* of the Frisian-like [ts] has in initial position been assimilated by the [s]. Hence *Sarlinghusen* was *Tzerlinghusen* in 1465 but *Sernehusen* in 1522. As reading supplementary to the article in Frisian the writer recommends another article in that language in *Ús Wurk* (1960, pp. 51–67), the "Communications" (*Meidielingen*) of the Frisian Institute of the University of Groningen: M. Oosterhout, "It gebrûk fan preposysjes by plaknammen" (The Use of Prepositions in Place Names).

G. B. Droege

De Paul University (Chicago)

For Onomatologists Only

Members, New and Old. Mr. Winthrop W. Piper is working on an extensive study of Vermont place names. This work is to be submitted to Columbia University as a doctoral dissertation.

Professor Joseph F. S. Smeall, 1116 South 16th St., Grand Forks, North Dakota, a new member, is interested in the semantics of place names.

Mr. Arthur C. Schofield, Peoples Broadcasting Corporation, 246 North High Street, Columbus 16, Ohio, a new member, wrote a syndicated column on names for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and also broadcast a daily program on names over WCAW, the CBS station in Philadelphia, back in the 1930's.

Mr. Donald Jos. Orth, 2000 North Upton St., Arlington, Virginia, another new member, is on the staff of the Domestic Names Committee of the Board on Geographic Names. He is particularly interested in Alaskan names.

Mr. F. G. Ruffner, a new member, 4212 Courville, Detroit 24, Mich., of Gale Research Company, has recently helped compile an *Acronyms Dictionary*, which is reviewed in this issue (p. 58 f).

Professor Stanley L. Robe, also a new member, has been in Guadalajara, Mexico, teaching and working on a research project since mid-June, 1960. His "Caribbean Words in Mexican Toponymy" appeared in the March, 1960, issue of *Names*. He is presently engaged in research on Dialectology of American Spanish and its relationship to place-names in America.

Lac La Ronge Place-Names. In a communication of June 27, 1960, Mr. A. I. Bereskin, our official representative for Region O (Saskatchewan), writes as follows: "I would advise that as Saskatchewan representative to the Canadian Board on Geographical Names of Ottawa that during the past fifteen years we probably have named over 5,000 map features. Most often the features have been named after Saskatchewan servicemen who gave their lives during the Second World War; others have been named after eminent Saskatchewan pioneers; and other features bear native Cree names."

Mr. Bereskin also included a copy of a radio broadcast in which Mr. J. W. Churchman, the Deputy Minister, Department of Natural Resources [in Canada], was interviewed regarding Lac La Ronge place-names. According to Mr. Churchman, originally the name Lac La Ronge, which means "gnawings" in French, was given in 1779 by Jean Etienn Waden to the settlement which he established on the lake of the same name. "Perhaps Waden applied the name due to the plentiful signs of the trees gnawed by the beaver. Lac La Ronge was at one time a heavy producer of beaver pelts. Another theory is that the rocky, deeply indented shore of the lake suggested some mighty beaver had been busy at work gnawing it out to form the many sheltered quiet bays; and the lake was, therefore, called Lac La Ronge, "the lake of the gnawings." Waden Bay, at the northwest end of the lake, perpetuates the founder of the settlement.

Just outside Lac La Ronge Village is Kitsakie Island, which means "take your coat off" in Cree. The explanation of this name is that it refers to the long hard paddling the many Crees, who came to the settlement at the time of treaty payments, had to make when they returned to their home grounds. "We can well imagine groups saying goodbye to their friends on the shore, and the moment the island blocked the view of friends on the shore the chief would order, 'O. K., boys — "Kitsakie" — take your coats off — it's a long, stiff paddle back home.'"

A lake known as Iskwatikan — Cree for "left over" — is located between Lac La Ronge and a fairly large lake. Formerly the Indians kept a bag, for collecting any food left over from a meal, which they called Iskwatikan. The lake is about eight miles long and appeared left over from the main lake; hence, the name.

Mr. Churchman concluded his remarks by saying he would like to have any information on the origin of Cree names which his listeners could send him.

Steele City. According to Miss Louise M. Ackerman (who cites *The Lincoln Star*, July 29, 1960; p. 1) Steele City, Nebraska was named for D. M. Steele, president of the St. Joe and Western Railway. Founded in the 1870's, and first known as Jenkins Mill and as Freeport, for a time the post office was listed as Steeleburg — which was frequently confused with another town called Stelle City. A nearby highway sign misspells the name as "Steel City." Most mail trouble today comes with letters addressed only to "Steele."

The Horses' Mouths. Miss Ackerman has also sent the following list of source material for the names, and the origin of the names, of breeds, colors and types of horses and ponies: Margaret Cabell Self, *The Horseman's Encyclopedia* (U.S.A.: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1946); Phil Stong, *Horses and Americans* (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Co., 1939); Arthur Vernon, *The History and Romance of the Horse* (Garden City, N.Y.: Halcyon House, 1941); and Brian Vesey-Fitzgerald, *The Book of the Horse* (Los Angeles, Cal.: Borden Publishing Co., 1947).

E. W. M.

Names in Brief

Amozion Again. — Professor Malone wishes to withdraw the explanation of this name which he suggested in *Names* VIII.86. He writes, "My suggestion, based on the name-form alone, was made before I read Mr. Fairclough's paper, which specifies the name as that of a *Baptist* church, earlier called *Amazon*. Clearly Mr. Fairclough is right in explaining the form *Amozion* as an alteration of the earlier *Amazon*, with the Biblical *Zion* in mind (*Names* VIII.83f.)."

Ed.

Pagan Creek. — A tributary from the south into the James River, Isle of Wight Co., Virginia. Most probably this name is not related to English *pagan*, meaning "heathen", but an Anglicized form of Algonquian *pág:āni*, which is the Fox name of the hickory nut. Hence, Pagan Creek is synonymous with Hickory Nut Creek. For an explanation of the Indian term, see William Jones, *Algonquian (Fox), an Illustrative Sketch* (Revised by Truman Michelson), *Extract from North American Indian Languages, Bulletin 40 BAE*, Washington, 1911.

Chas. Edgar Gilliam

In Memoriam

THEODORE G. FOSTER

February 23, 1888 — October 17, 1960

Mr. Theodore (Ted) G. Foster, a member of the American Name Society since 1954, died in Lansing, Michigan, on October 17, 1960, after a long illness. Mr. Foster, who had lived in Lansing all his life, had his home at 2426 Strathmore Road. He was the son of Seymour Foster and Mary L.(Woodworth) Foster, Lansing pioneers.

Well known among Michigan's historians, Mr. Foster was an active member of the Historical Society of Greater Lansing. He was a graduate of Old Lansing high school and attended Mercersburg Academy, Mercersburg, Penna., and later attended the University of Michigan.

In 1908 he entered the employment of the Seager Engine Works, manufacturers of Olds single cylinder gasoline engines. In 1916 he helped organize the Pattengill-Foster real estate company and developed the Greencroft subdivision. He was instrumental in developing other real estate divisions in Lansing.

In 1912, he married Margaret Irene Pattengill, daughter of Henry R. Pattengill, former state superintendent of public instruction.

Mr. Foster compiled an index of all Ingham County and Lansing city histories, in addition to writing many historical articles. For many years he was the author of the daily onomatological feature, "What's in a Name," carried by *The State Journal*, Lansing, Michigan. His extensive collection of material has been deposited in the Michigan State Library.

Mr. Foster has been a Sustaining Member of the American Name Society for six years, and has aided the Society in many ways beyond the call of a regular member. His encouragement and helpful suggestions have been a source of stimulation to the Society since its inception.

Kelsie B. Harder

EDITORIAL POLICY STATEMENT

The following statement is thought of as a basic guide for the editors of *Names* for the next five years or so.

1. *Name* or *proper name* is by definition (and in the stricter sense of the word *name*) a distinctive appellation of a person, a place, or an object; thus both the American Name Society and its publications are interested chiefly in proper names, i.e., personal names (given names, nicknames, surnames, family names), names of peoples (groups, clans, nations, peoples of larger areas, continents, etc.), names of places (localities, water bodies and water courses, community names, geographical), brand names, also fictional names for characters and places, etc. (cf. George R. Stewart, "The Field of the American Name Society," *Names* 1 [1953], 73–78). Common nouns such as mere scientific terms are not the interest of the Society and its publications.

2. The main weight of the Society's interests lies in scholarly investigation, in promotion and publication of outstanding research, and in dissemination of onomastic knowledge. Emphasis is naturally placed on names which in some way relate to the United States.

The publications of the Society, the journal *Names* and occasional pamphlets, may be increased in volume, as the Executive Officers decide from time to time. However, *Names*, which remains the basic publication of the Society, is intended to promote research on names — theoretical, general, and specific, either in one linguistic group or of one language or of some languages that are or were in contact or counteraction.

3. With the desire of the Society and of the journal, on the other hand, to propagate the understanding of the importance of knowledge of and research on names among wider circles of the educated American public and thereby to influence and strengthen the public's interest in the work of the American Name Society and of *Names*,

it is found meaningful to include in the journal good material presented in a popular style, which is designed to convey to the non-academic member or reader interesting material, without impairing the general scholarly scope of the periodical. The inclusion of this informative and edifying type of material for the general public, whose support is needed and solicited, should mean no lowering of the high standards of the publication, however.

4. The elected editor appoints, with the approval of the Editorial Board, an associate editor and a book review editor to help him in the conduct of his editorial duties. While the distribution of the editorial work is at the editor's discretion, the following points should be explicit:

- (a) the editor is responsible for the whole editorial work and for all its stages from inviting and accepting papers to the physical production of the publications;
- (b) the associate editor's duty is mainly to read and edit manuscripts, read proofs, and handle correspondence with writers of papers;
- (c) the book review editor takes care of all reviews, receives books, invites reviews, and reads proofs.

The Editorial Board, over which the editor presides, plays an important role in editorial policy and in all important editorial matters. The editor has the duty to make use of the services of the Editorial Board and discuss any suggestions made to him by its members or other officers. The editor sends circular letters to the Board as matters arise and solicits their opinion on problems that come up.

5. *Names* may include in its pages all kinds of first rate onomastic contributions, that is, excellent papers on names in every field. (*Names* cannot become the journal of the field of its editors.) The materials submitted or invited for publication are read by the editor and/or the associate editor (and, in the case of reviews, by the book review editor) and members of the Editorial Board.

The editor should invite papers from American members of the American Name Society and from foreign onomatologists who are outstanding in their specialties, with an eye to strengthening the periodical's high standards at the international level.

Papers submitted by members of the Society (non-members should be invited to join the Society before consideration of the submitted material) for publication undergo the process of reading, critical evaluation, and approval or rejection. When material is accepted for publication, editorial changes may be made by the editor and/or the associate editor or a member of the Editorial Board before the material is declared accepted and scheduled for a certain issue of the journal. Before publication of the material, concurrence and further comments are invited from the writer on the editorial changes.

6. Books and pamphlets on onomatology (not reprints, except important ones) in the English language are reviewed in *Names* as soon after the items' publication as possible. Important works receive more extensive critical reviews written by members competent in the particular field; minor works on place names outside North America as well as new editions of older works (unless the new editions are in fact completely new works) are given brief notices or short reviews commensurate with their scholarly merit; when review copies of important and outstanding onomastic books in foreign languages are available, these are also reviewed.

7. As a guide to the form of a paper prepared for publication in *Names*, the form sheet of the Modern Language Association Publications may serve, with minor adjustments made by the editor (e.g., the reference to the number of a volume of a series or journal is preferably made in Arabic rather than Roman numerals). Reasonable smoothness of style is mandatory for items to be published in the journal; authors should also have in mind that their contributions may be read by non-specialists as well.

8. Any important matter not included in the present statement is decided upon by the editor after an exchange of views and adequate discussion with the Editorial Board.

Demetrius J. Georgacas

ANS Reports 1960

EDITOR'S REPORT FOR 1930

[Read in absentia at the 9th Annual Meeting at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
on December 29, 1960]

As Editor for 1960 I regret being unable to read this report in person but this is one of those things that happen to us unexpectedly. After I had assumed the editorial office last January, I was called to a task that took me, though temporarily, out of the country; it was clear only at the end of April that I had to accept the new assignment. This explains why I report from Athens, Greece, instead of in your midst, as I would have liked to.

This report may be divided into eight headings.

I. *Taking over the editorial machinery.* Dr. Madison Beeler, upon my suggestion before the election of the new editor, made up the March 1960 issue (which was his last) and is, therefore, responsible for it. However, the editorial policy of the new editor appeared on the Editor's Page in the same March issue, the proofs of which he also read. (Books received from Dr. Beeler were forwarded to Mr. Harder as the nucleus of the now established American Name Society Library.)

II. *The new editorial setup.* As I saw it, an effective editorial routine had to be established for the satisfactory editing of the journal.

(a) The Editorial Board had to work as a body. To that end I sent a few circulars to the Board requesting their opinion on certain suggestions. I also submitted manuscripts to each member of the Editorial Board for critical reading and evaluation, but also to other expert ANS members. The result was very satisfactory to me, for I had the utmost benefit of their cooperation.

(b) In accordance with my statement on the editorial machinery ("Editor's Page," *Names* 8 [1960], No. 1, March, p. 63), the Book Review Editor and the Associate Editor were appointed by the Editor with the approval of the Editorial Board and the assent of the executive officers of the Society. These two special editors, who had been in close cooperation with me even before their appointment, were appointed as such before I had knowledge of the unexpected developments of the dictionary project. Mr. Elsdon C. Smith has been in charge of all reviews from inviting such reviews to reading proofs of the set reviews. Professor E. Wallace McMullen has been in charge of the column entitled "For Onomatologists Only," designed to be popular and informative, as developed in the three issues of June, September, and December. When it was clear that I had to be away for a while, Mr. McMullen was asked to do more work within the country. He now receives manuscripts at his address, assigns them for evaluation to readers, corresponds with the

contributors, and forwards such materials to me for final decision; he also reads proofs of each issue. The correspondence among the three editors has been regular.

(c) Close cooperation was set up from December 1959 on between the Editor and the Executive Secretary in most matters of the Society and on a number of related important issues. This regular communication and close cooperation was not only useful and stimulating but it also resulted in solutions for both the journal and the Society.

III. *Evaluation and scrutiny of manuscripts submitted for the journal.* I took it for my first task to read all manuscripts forwarded to me by my predecessor and to have editors and other expert members read the same manuscripts (even when some had been accepted) and evaluate them for me. Two readers were necessary for each manuscript but usually a third one, sometimes even four or five in all, did the reading and reporting. In this way, by June 1960 tens of manuscripts were returned to their authors, either to be reworked and revised or to be rewritten stylistically, or as rejected. Among these there were several manuscripts that had been submitted to me or to Mr. McMullen that were subjected to the same procedure. When in the process it was discovered that a goodly number of contributors of items for *Names* were not members of the American Name Society, the rule was set that these contributors had to become members before their articles were either read or accepted for publication or published in the journal (in three or four individual cases only I did not insist on this policy for valid reasons).

IV. *The printer and the timely appearance of the journal.* The Editor has been in regular correspondence with the printer since January 1960 (and the fact that the correspondence is held in German and not in English has facilitated our mutual understanding). The agreement with the printer has been improved in that we see not only page proofs but also galley proofs, and usually there have even been three proofreadings. Another agreement with the printer has allowed us to have several manuscripts set beforehand and in proof before making up each issue. This practical arrangement is important because the editor can select and arrange pages needed in a comfortable way and avoid the delays that arose from the setting of manuscripts just for one issue. We are well satisfied with the printing job by the Winter printers.

After the March 1960 issue I have striven to have the journal distributed on time in June, September, and December. Most of the Society's problems are believed to be settled if the journal's production is not delayed, for the late mailing of *Names* has been a source of irritation to members and subscribers. Since at the writing of this report (December 2, 1960) I have before me an advance copy of the December 1960 issue, it is hoped that most members will receive their copies within December 1960. The March 1961 issue (now in galley proofs) will be distributed by the Secretary-Treasurer in March 1961.

V *Editors and writers.* There has been prompt correspondence with all those who addressed the Editors, and every author was duly notified at each stage of the processing of his paper submitted for publication. For expediting matters a special editorial postcard was printed to be sent by the editors to those who send in any manuscript item. Also a number of inquiries from members have been promptly answered. The editors hope that there are no complaints in that respect.

VI. *Material for the 9th volume of Names (1961).* There is enough material in the editor's hands for the four issues of *Names* in 1961, considering also reviews and other timely material expected to flow in as time goes on. My present estimate is that the backlog material will reach even the 10th volume.

VII. *An editorial policy for the future.* Virtually little can be changed in the editorial policy of our journal and, if changes should be made, they are (1) strengthening of the publication with more contributions of expert onomatologists, (2) expansion of its space, and (3) adding special monographs. I am discussing this in a separate statement (above, p. 69-71). A few essential things may be briefly mentioned here: One is the increase of the journal's volume to 80 pages per issue starting with the March 1961 number and to 96 pages per issue with the 10th volume, if the Society's finances permit; I can promise a series of excellent articles, if we have the space, for we would be able to invite such papers from outstanding onomatologists in America and in Europe (a fine opportunity for doing this is, e.g., the 7th international congress of onomastics in Italy next spring). As it is now, we cannot possibly invite any papers for lack of space. One article had to be chopped into three installments in order to get it in three issues of this and next year's volumes. Longer papers have to wait too long to be printed. A series of monographs should also be started, if and when the growth of the Society permits such a policy; longer papers, i.e., papers longer than 35 pages, should be taken care of as monographs; onomastic dissertations can also be published with a subsidy from the respective authors.

VIII. *Acknowledgments.* In the job that is full of responsibility and thankless enough, pleasing everyone is impossible. I wish, therefore, to record my regrets for any mistakes I have made this past year and I apologize to members and other contributors for the inherent difficulties of the slow publication of their papers in a journal whose pages normally number only 256 per volume.

On the other hand, it is a happy duty for me to express my gratitude to the membership of the Society for the privilege of editing its publication. Our thanks certainly go to the more than thirty contributors and reviewers whose names cover the 8th (1960) volume. To publish this work a numerous staff has offered its services. I am glad to acknowledge with deep appreciation the fine cooperation of my able colleagues of the Editorial Board: Margaret M. Bryant, Meredith F. Burrill, Audrey R. Duckert, Elsdon C. Smith, George R. Stewart, Francis L. Utley, and to thank especially the Book Review Editor, Mr. Smith, the Associate Editor, Mr. E. Wallace McMullen, who both have shared with me the responsibility and the burden, and Miss Audrey Duckert, for their unstinting support for the past months, as well as the President and the Vice-Presidents and the very able Executive Secretary. I am also indebted to all readers of manuscripts; indeed, it is a great pleasure for me to mention gratefully the help of the six members of the Editorial Board, of Mr. McMullen, and of the following scholars: Frederic G. Cassidy, Robert A. Caldwell, Barbara D. Georgacas, Erwin G. Gudde, Kelsie B. Harder, Henry R. Kahane, Jaroslav B. Rudnýčy, Mary Florence Steiner, Andreas Tietze, Virgil Vogel, and probably one or two more. Thanks from me personally and from our Society are due also to the Carl Winter Verlag and especially to Mr. A. Hemmerich, who has been in charge of the journal's production.

Demetrius J. Georgacas

TREASURER'S REPORT

January 1 to December 31, 1960

Balance Forward from 1959 (checking account)		2,046.80	
<i>Income</i>			
Membership	3,046.83		
Sustaining Membership	365.00		
Sale of NAMES	100.90		
Contributions to A.C.L.S.	75.00		
Miscellaneous	60.08	3,647.81	
Credit to mailing of NAMES		45.84	
Income Total			5,740.45
<i>Expenditures</i>			
President's Office			
Stationary & Office Supplies	37.50	37.50	
Editor's Office			
Stationary & Office Supplies	104.18		
Postage	62.08		
Miscellaneous	3.83	170.09	
Secretary-Treasurer's Office			
Stationary & Office Supplies	419.37		
Postage	94.99		
Postage (1959)	5.52		
Miscellaneous	5.05		
Mailing NAMES from California	203.96		
Mailing NAMES (1960)	100.27		
(45.84 credited — misc. income)		829.16	
Other Expenses			
Parcel post on Transfer of Records	119.52		
Printing of NAMES (1959)	602.00		
Printing of NAMES (1960 — 3 issues)	1,742.65		
Corporation fee	1.00		
Advertising	40.00		
Expenses of Nominating Committee	17.74		
Refunds	26.58		
Back issues of NAMES bought	50.25	2,599.74	

Expenditures Total		3,636.49
Transfer to Publications Fund	347.50	3,983.99
<i>Income less Expenditures</i> (Checking Account Balance)		1,756.46
<i>Savings Account</i> (Publication Fund)		
Balance Forward	1,040.40	
Deposits to Account	160.00	
Transfer from Checking Account	347.50	
May Interest	7.07	
November Interest	16.65	1,571.62
<i>Total Capital on Hand</i> — December 31, 1960 . .		3,328.08
Less estimated cost of NAMES (fourth issue)	580.00	2,748.08

Kelsie B. Harder
Treasurer

December, 31 1960.

ANS Notes

NEW MEMBERS OF THE ANS IN 1960

Following is a list of new members obtained since January 1, 1960. The list is closed as of December 19, 1960. Included are also previous members who have re-joined the Society. These are noted as OM. The member who invited the new member is also included in the list. It must be noted that the Secretary has only the invitation to tell him who invited the new member. When the membership was not accompanied by an invitation, then the one who invited the new member could not be identified.

	Invited by:		Invited by:
Mrs. Mildred R. Bennett	Mamie Meredith	Catherine Horner	OM (Georgacas)
Robert Klymasz	Georgacas	John P. Pauls	OM (Georgacas)
Robert Toerne	Smith	Walter H. Kammann	
Henry Q. Collins	Harder	Herman Iventosch	Georgacas
G. F. Delaney	OM	John S. Caponnetto	Trolle-Steen- strup
John W. Zerkowski		Sandoz Library	Meredith
Wilbur Zelinsky	OM	Victor A. Moitoret	Stewart

Invited by:		Invited by:	
Petro Odarchenko	OM	Newbell N. Puckett	Harder
Kent State University	OM	Edmund Heier	Georgacas
Geart Droege	OM	Donald Clark	Harder
E. Bagby Atwood	OM	Florida Presbyterian	
Ava M. Chadbourne	OM	College	Smith
E. T. Grether	OM	Charles Boewe	Georgacas
Gerald Cassidy	OM	Oscar F. Jones	
Maralyn Morton	OM	Patricia Anna Abel	Fairclough
Michigan Historical		Louise Ackerman	Georgacas
Commission	OM	Joseph A. Ward	Georgacas
Eastern Michigan		Robert Lowe	
University	OM	George Carter	Smith
Roland Dickison	Boone	J. E. Schmidt	Meredith
Byrd H. Granger	Harder	Roger Price	Gaffney
B. L. Trippett	Bryant	Warren R. Maurer	McMullen
H. G. E. Spray	Gaffney	B. W. Dombrowski	Georgacas
J. A. Thorburn	Bryant	Joseph F. S. Smeall	Georgacas
Martin H. Bury	Mook	Arthur C. Schofield	Harder
Walter S. Taintor	Minton	Fort Worth Public	
Lawrence C. Thompson		Library	
Erskine College	Bradley	Max Markrich	OM
J. Harold Easterley	Bradley	J. Tweed McMullen	McMullen
Winthrop College	Bradley	Cortland P. Auser	Bryant
Arthur Berliner	Stewart	C. I. Kephart	Mook
Donald Jos. Orth		William F. Childers	Harder
Stanley L. Robe	Harder	Illinois Institute of	
U.S. Air Force Academy		Technology	
Weldon N. Niva	Georgacas	Univ. Lib., Leiden,	
Sidney Snook	Harder	Netherlands	
Norman D. Hinton	Orrick	Allan K. Brown	Georgacas
P. H. Reaney	Smith	Lili Rabel	Georgacas
John Richard Drake, Jr.	Harder	Clare D'Artois Leeper	
Joseph N. Backus	Stewart	Jose Pedro Rona	OM
T. J. Curran	Harder	Benedict Pfaller	OM
William J. Gedney	Bryant	William Clark Bliven	OM
Etholine Aycock	Gaffney	Helen P. Jackson	OM (McMullen)
J. Boddewyn	McMullen	George B. Pace	Harder
Kanji Kagami	Stewart	Emilio Peruzzi	Georgacas
Paul M. Dubbs	Mook		

APPOINTED OFFICIALS

President Mamie Meredith has appointed the following committee chairmen:

Chicago 1961 Meeting: Mr. Elsdon C. Smith, Local Chairman
 Membership Committee: Arthur Minton
 Program 1961: Jack A. Dabbs
 Nominating Committee: T. M. Pearce

The address of Mr. Elsdon C. Smith is as follows: 322 Sherman Avenue, Evanston, Ill.

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

The Nominating Committee, consisting of Professors Thomas Pyles, Chairman, Jaroslav B. Rudnyćkyj, and Audrey R. Duckert, presented at the Philadelphia meeting on December 29, 1960, the results of the election of officers for 1961. They are as follows:

President: Mamie J. Meredith
 First Vice President: Jack A. Dabbs
 Second Vice President: Alfred Senn
 Third Vice President: Ignace J. Gelb
 Executive Secretary-Treasurer: Kelsie B. Harder
 Editor: Demetrius J. Georgacas

BOARD

OF MANAGERS

Hamill Kenny
 Harold B. Allen
 Arthur Minton

EDITORIAL BOARD

George R. Stewart	Francis L. Utley
Elsdon C. Smith	Audrey R. Duckert
Margaret M. Bryant	Meredith F. Burrill

Europe and Europa

GEORGE R. STEWART

DURING A LONG PERIOD speculation has been rife about the origin of the name *Europe*. One must write "speculation" rather than "scholarship" because dearth of material has made a scholarly approach extremely difficult. As a result, only one article on the subject can be cited, and we are otherwise dependent upon paragraphs in encyclopedias and statements in general works. To collect and to review all these opinions would demand some pages of text, and would in the end prove to be little more than a compilation of guesses. The writer therefore begs the acceptance of his statement that he has consulted a large number of these brief notices and considers nearly all of them to be of no value, and those which may contain some possible value to be lacking in scholarly demonstration.¹

The writer intends here an approach which is to some extent new, though in the end he will support one of the old theories.

* * *

Before the demonstration can begin, there must be some presentation of the early history of the name. This can well work backward from a passage in Herodotus (iv, 42–45, partly quoted below)

¹ The article is that by Hans Phillip, "Die Namen der Erdteile Europa, Asien und Afrika" (*Petermanns Mitteilungen*, v. 82, 109–110). This I consider to be of no value, and in its suppression of pertinent evidence to be positively misleading. It tries to establish by a strained interpretation of Herodotus, viii, 8, that he believed Europe to refer to Thrace only, but does not cite Herodotus, iv, 42–45, which makes clear that Europe includes the whole continent. Doubtless this article, which is cited, accounts for Adolf Bach's positive statement (*Deutsche Namenkunde*, 2, 497) that *Europe* was originally the name of the Thracian coastland. *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1905, v. 1, pp. 246–247), originally published in 1613, shows that theories about the name were already current. As a selected list of brief notes and passing comments, I cite: M. Braun, "Namen der Erdteile," *Muttersprache*, 1952; August Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, 21; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Art. "Europa"; Heinrich Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, p. 139; *Enciclopedia Italiana*; *Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada*; *Encyclopedia Britannica*; J. J. Egli, *Nomina Geographica* (2nd. ed., Leipzig, 1893).

which shows that the Greeks of his time (450 B.C.) accepted as commonplace the idea of a continent named *Europe*, though there was disagreement as to whether its boundary, to the north or east of the Black Sea, was the Don or the Phasis.

That even a generation before 450 B.C. the Greeks already had the conception of Europe as a continent, so named, having the same approximate boundaries as those mentioned by Herodotus, is shown by the references in the plays of Aeschylus, the earliest of these being in *The Persians* (472 B.C.).

Earlier than this, the record is scanty and vague. In the *Homeric Hymn To Pythian Apollo*, the same passage occurs twice: "both those who live in rich Peloponnesus and those of Europe, and all the wave-washed isles." (ll., 250-1, 290-1). Unfortunately, everything is here very vague. The date of the poem is uncertain, and can only be placed with some surety before 600 B.C. The language, which seems to distinguish Europe from the Peloponnesus, has been taken to indicate that at this time *Europe* was merely a name referring to central Greece. Considering that we are here dealing with a poet and not with a geographer, I do not think that we can be so certain. We can just as well argue that *Europe* is here distinguished from the islands, and therefore refers to the mainland generally. As to its being distinguished from the Peloponnesus, aside from the fact that the poet had to fill up a line in some way, we can point out that by the Greeks *Peloponnesus* itself was taken to mean Pelop's Island, and that Peloponnesus in its last two syllables is the Latinized form of the Greek word meaning "island." It might therefore, either literally or poetically, be considered an island and distinguished from the mainland. About all that I would be sure of from this passage is that some time before 600 B.C. *Europe* was a somewhat general name, referring to a region which was, say, larger than Boeotia, and which may have meant central Greece, but which may just as likely have referred in general to the mainland of the region, even though the conception of a continent was not yet grasped.

An even vaguer reference occurs in Hesiod's *Theogony*² (l. 357), which is generally regarded as of about 750 B.C. The name here occurs in a long list of nymphs. One might therefore maintain that

² See *Hesiod, Loeb Edition* (p. 171). The quotation is from the scholiast on Homer, who cites these poets as having told the story of Europa.

it is of no geographical significance at all. On the other hand, in the same list occur *Asia* and *Doris*, which certainly have geographical significance, and also *Ianeira*, which probably refers to Ionia. It seems likely, therefore, that these nymphs represent personifications of certain countries or regions. If so, we can say that *Europe* in the time of Hesiod had a geographical significance, and probably referred to an at least fairly large area. As to where this area lay and to what were its boundaries, nothing can be argued from the passage.

* * *

There was also *Europa*, the woman. In English it is possible, and it is here convenient, to distinguish between *Europe* and *Europa*. In Greek there was no such possibility, since the two names were identical (Εὐρώπη). Europa is one of the well-established figures of mythology. She is mentioned in *The Iliad* (xiv, 324), by Hesiod and Bacchylides², and in *The Battle of the Frogs and Mice*. Her story was a frequent subject for artists³, and was told by later classical writers. Naturally, variations occur, but on the whole the tale is fairly consistent.

To retell it here is unnecessary. I shall merely tabulate certain points which may have some bearing upon the name:

1. Europa was a Tyrian princess.
2. Zeus, in the form of a bull, carried her off from Tyre to Crete.
3. Afterwards, her brother Cadmus, seeking her, passed from Tyre to Greece.

In spite of the identity in Greek of the name for the woman and the continent, scholars have given the matter little consideration. There are, it would seem, four, and only four, possible ways in which the identity can be explained. These are:

1. The identity is the result of coincidence.
2. The name of the continent is derived from that of the woman.
3. The name of the woman is derived from that of the continent.
4. The names are both derived from the same source (word or name).

³ For references to two early representations of Europa, see T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbors*, (1957), p. 86. A famous representation is that on one of the metopes from Temple C at Selinus, ca. 550 B.C.

1. *Coincidence.* To establish that the name of the woman and the name of the continent have identical form by coincidence, one would have to be able to trace both names back to earlier and differing forms. One would have to show that these forms came from different languages, or, if from the same language, had quite different meanings. Since no earlier forms of either name exist, this demonstration is impossible.

Nevertheless, modern scholars by failing to attempt to show any connection, seem to have assumed that the identity has arisen by coincidence. Not only is this undemonstrable, but also there seems to be a considerable probability against it. To consider the written form of the name (since our knowledge of early Greek pronunciation is unreliable) we see that it was of sufficient complexity to require for its representation in classical Greek no fewer than eight characters (six letters and two diacritical marks). To represent the woman and to represent the continent these symbols are identical, and have exactly the same arrangement. While such coincidence is not impossible, it is not to be lightly assumed.

Finally, one may say, explanation by coincidence should be only the scholar's last resort. If he is unable actually to prove coincidence, he should not assume it until he has tried everything else.

2. *The continent from the woman.* Since the ancient Greeks had a strong tendency to derive the names of places from those of people, the theory that the name of the continent was derived from that of the woman was apparently a current one with them. The evidence for this conclusion is based on its refutation by Herodotus:

"As for Europe, no one can say whether it is surrounded by the sea or not, nor is it known whence the name of Europe was derived, nor who gave it the name, unless we say that Europe was so called after the Tyrian Europa, and before her time was nameless, like the other continents. But Europa was certainly an Asiatic, and never even set foot on the land that the Greeks now call Europe, only sailing from Phoenicia to Crete, and from Crete to Lycia" (iv, 45).

All I would like to say further in this connection is that Herodotus seems to me to make very good sense. I do not care to revive the theory that Europa was an eponymous heroine.

3. *The woman from the continent.* Although people are not uncommonly named from places, as with our *Kenesaw Mountain*

Landis and *Tennessee Williams*, I can present no evidence to support the possibility that the woman was named from the continent. The argument presented by Herodotus is also potent when taken in reverse. Moreover, there is a further difficulty of time. *Europe* as a place name is not mentioned in the Homeric poems, and does not seem to have been well established much before 600 B.C. The story of Europa, the woman, even if we consider the reference in *The Iliad* to be doubtful, is connected with the Minoan kingdom, and we may therefore think that her name goes back well into the second millenium.

4. *Both names from a single source.* The advantage of this hypothesis is that it permits a new approach. Previous study has been directed toward the derivation of the name of the continent, no one having had much interest in the derivation of the name for the woman. If we seek a single source for both, however, we study the origin of the name of the continent by studying that for the name of the woman.

In any problem of name origin, the first question must be from what language the name is derived. In the case of *Europa*, the possibilities are: Greek, "pre-Greek," and Semitic.

A. *Greek.* A Greek origin is *a priori* unlikely. As is now generally agreed, the stories of mythology arose in the pre-Greek period, and the names of the heroes and heroines are generally not Greek. In particular, Europa, who is associated with the reign of Minos, would be likely to have a name associated with that pre-Greek period.

Certain attempts have been made to derive Europa from Greek, connecting it with εὐρυ- "broad," and ὤψ "face," which is also to be connected with ὀπ- "to see." The name might thus be taken properly to mean "broad-faced," (perhaps a compliment in 1500 B.C.) or "widely-seeing." But such a result can only be reached by severe phonetic man-handling. The element εὐρυ- does not lose its final vowel easily, and in combination with ὀπ- we get εὐρύοπα, a common epithet of Zeus in the Homeric poems. We have also, probably, *Euryope*, supposedly an ancient goddess. But neither of these is Europa.⁴ Adding the fact that *Europa* is a mythological name, and

⁴ The form εὐρωπός occurs in poetry. Pindar (*Frag.* 249) uses a common noun πεύρωλα, apparently meaning "broad surface."

therefore not likely to be Greek, we may well drop the theory altogether.⁵

B. "*Pre-Greek*." Scholars are agreed that in times before the Greek language occupied the regions which it held in the beginning of recorded history, there were one or more un-Greek languages in that area. The general belief is that almost all the names of Greek mythology are from this language or languages. Obviously, *Europa* might be among these. Certain studies, largely tentative and theoretical as yet, have been published recently on the structure and vocabulary of the pre-Greek language.⁶ As far as I know, no attempt has been made to show that *Europa* is thus derived, and in view of the scanty and doubtful vocabulary available, one may doubt whether such an attempt will be made. In this state of ignorance, we can therefore do no more than grant the possibility and pass on.

C. *Semitic*. In contrast to the possibility of a Greek origin, for which the argument is negative, and to that of a pre-Greek origin, for which the argument is neutral, the argument for a Semitic origin is strong. The details of the evidence may be presented:

1. In the stories *Europa* is consistently Tyrian, i.e., Phoenician. The Phoenicians spoke a Semitic language closely allied to ancient Hebrew. If *Europa*, then, is Phoenician, her name also is likely to be.

The objection may be raised that the *story* may have been Greek and that a Greek story-teller might have made his heroine Tyrian, without knowing enough about the language to give her a Semitic name. Such a possibility is rendered less likely by the arguments that follow.

2. The fact that Zeus in the *Europa* story is taumorph is strong evidence that the story itself is Semitic. The bull was a sacrificial animal in Greece, and in Crete bull-fighting seems to have been the

⁵ Some have held the opinion that *Europe*, the continent, is to be directly derived from εὐρ- and ὄπ-. This not only has the phonetic difficulties mentioned above, but also adds semantic and onomastic problems. The meaning has to be strained into "broadly seen," or "broad-appearing." Onomastically, such a meaning, with its textbook descriptive quality, seems to demand that the continent should have been named in full recognition of its greatness. Actually the coast of mainland Greece would not have appeared, to an ancient seafarer, any broader than the coast of, say, Crete.

⁶ See, e.g., A. J. van Windekens, *Le Pélasgique* (1952).

national sport. But neither the Greeks, nor (so far as we know) the Cretans, had gods who took the form of bulls. On the other hand, Semitic religions constantly represented the god as a bull — as the Biblical story of the golden calf gives some indication.

3. Europa had a brother named Cadmus. Since he too is represented as originally of Phoenicia, he would naturally have a Phoenician name. And, indeed, scholars have recognized in *Cadmus* the Hebrew trigraph *k-d-m*, meaning "east." If his name is Semitic, so also his sister's is likely to be.

On the basis of these arguments, we are justified in postulating a high probability that the name *Europa* is Phoenician.⁷ And at this point we can return to an old theory.

Throughout a century recurrent suggestions have been made that *Europe* was derived from a Semitic word, represented by the Hebrew, *ereb* ערב meaning "west." Returning to Europa, we would see immediately that a derivation of her name from this word meaning "west" would be an exceptionally happy one. If the brother was named East, the sister might well be named West.⁸

Counterpart naming is a common folk-practice. On the California coast, *Little River* debouches only a few miles from *Big River*. In the Sierra Nevada, *Black Kaweah* stands over against *Red Kaweah*. So it is also with the names of people. In my own experience I remember *Big Bill* and *Little Bill*, and twins named *DeWitt* and *DeWight*. We might consider that, taken alone, Europa resembles the Hebrew word for west by nothing more than coincidence. Taken together with Cadmus, each mutually reinforcing the other, the probability of the East-West meaning is augmented to the square or the cube, until it becomes very strong.⁹

⁷ For a special study of Phoenician see Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (1936).

⁸ Since this is an onomastic and not a mythological treatise, I add only a few more suggestions about Europa. The symbolical significance of the brother East and the sister West are certainly obvious. Both, moreover, journey from East to West, across the sea, the sister West going first, the brother East following after, thus going with the motion of the sun.

⁹ Harris, (*op. cit.*, p. 138) lists a personal Phoenician name derived from the same consonantal triad as *ereb*. Though scholars have thus generally taken the word to mean "west," the literal meaning is "evening," from a root "grow dark." But words meaning "west," are commonly derived, as in Greek itself, from "evening" or "go down."

About the phonetics of this, we can only make do as well as we can. What is known about the phonetics of archaic Greek is not very much, and what is known about the phonetics of ancient Phoenician is considerably less. About all anyone can say is that the *k-d-m* seems to be close to *Cadmus*. As for *Ereb-Europe* the shift from *b* to *p* is a common one¹⁰; that leaves *erep-* which has a general structure very much like *Europ-*, and differs only in vowels. But vowels are very shifty in Hebrew, and therefore must have been shifty in Phoenician. There was another factor to be considered. Europa, the woman, had probably been naturalized in Greece for centuries, before the Phoenician traders began to talk about the West. During that time, the name had of course been subjected to a shift from pre-Greek to Greek, and then had had to undergo whatever phonetic shifts had occurred in Greek. Quite possibly by this time it had worked away somewhat from the original vowels which it had had when first taken over. Then, when the Greeks heard the Phoenicians saying the new name, they may merely have thought that they were saying the name of *Europa*, the woman, but not saying it very well, as is to be expected with foreigners. When the Greeks adopted this name for the continent they would have pronounced it properly, and thus it would have come to have whatever shifts of sound it had already undergone in Greek.

* * *

So far, we have considered only the meaning of the name for the woman. Obviously, however, the meaning "west" — already often suggested for the name *Europe* — suits the continent remarkably well. Considered from the point of view of the island of Rhodes and the nearby coast of Asia Minor, the mainland of Greece itself is definitely "the West." So it must have seemed to the Phoenician traders.¹¹ Since they were coastwise sailors, their route must have taken them north from Tyre, across to Cyprus, and thence along

¹⁰ An unvoicing of a voiced stop is shown in some Semitic loan-words in Greek, e.g., *κάμηλος* and *ἰῶτα*.

¹¹ The extent to which Phoenicians penetrated the Aegean and the importance of their influence on the Greeks and Greece has been long and hotly argued. Scholarly opinion recently seems to have swung toward a "pro-Phoenician" attitude stronger than was current in the last generation. See Dunbabin, *op.cit.*, pp. 35–43.

the south shore of Asia Minor to the always-important Rhodes, and the neighboring mainland harbors. From there they doubtless reached northward toward the Ionian shore. But they would also have reached westward, across the island-studded southern Aegean, toward the murex of Cythera, the gold of Siphnos, and the slaves that would be supplied by the constant wars of the little mainland states. There would have been no need to coast all the long way around the Aegean, past the barbarous Thracian littoral. Direct across the water, from island to island, never out of sight of a mountain top, the highway of the sea took them on toward "the darkness," "the land of the setting sun," "the west," *Ereb*.

We need not wonder that the Greeks after a while adopted the foreign name. This happens commonly. The Greek would have thought, and spoken, in terms of Attica and Boeotia, and Phocis and Locris, and a dozen others, little tribal territories. Hellas, if the Greek even as yet used the word, was a kind of abstraction, and denoted any place where Greeks lived, including the islands and the coast of Asia Minor. But the Phoenicians, coming from afar, by the very fact that they were strangers, would see the larger aspect and need a name for it. In a single coasting voyage, they might touch at many little Greek districts. A trader could scarcely take time to say, "I expect to visit Laconia, Argolis, Corinthia, and so forth and so forth," but by merely saying *Europe* he could cover them all. Once the name was established, the Greeks also would find it useful.¹²

Like all such vague names, having no natural or political limits, *Europe* would have had a tendency to move on and on until it touched some other pressure, either political or natural. This was what happened with *Italy*, a name which first applied merely to the heel of the peninsula. This was what happened, also, with

¹² As possibly complicating factors may be mentioned the occurrence in central and northern Greece of certain names that resemble *Europa*. *Europos* (Εὐρώπος) occurs several times, but none of its occurrences is such as even faintly to suggest that it might have given rise to the name of the continent. *Euripos* (Εὐρίπος) the strait between Euboea and the mainland, and *Oropus* (Ὀρωπός) a port near that strait, may also be mentioned. If Oropus could be established as having once been the chief port for foreign trade, its name can be imagined as having spread inland indefinitely. But such a situation cannot be established historically, and besides the name is not very close to *Europa*.

Florida in the sixteenth century, when it spread north and west until it covered all the southeastern United States.¹³

* * *

The background of *Europe* cannot be fully presented without some reference to *Asia*, since the two have been counterparts since the beginning of their history.

Asia is now generally believed to be derived from the regional name recorded in Hittite documents and transliterated as *Assuwa*. The original meaning is not known. Though the locality is somewhat vague, it was in northwestern Asia Minor. The reasons for the identification of *Assuwa* with *Asia* need not be presented here.

In connection with the present argument this explanation of *Asia* might be thought to weaken the possibility of the Semitic derivation of *Europe*. It is no longer possible to believe, as many have done, that *Asia* was itself a Semitic word, related to an Assyrian *asu* "east," which has a cognate Hebrew, אֲשׁוּר. Obviously, if *Asia* (i.e., the Aegean coast of Asia Minor) was The East, we would have an argument by counterpart that *Europe* (i.e., the Greek mainland) would be The West.

This argument, however, is not wholly ruined by the presentation here offered. If there was current — when the Phoenician traders

¹³ The strength of the argument for a Phoenician origin of *Europe* would not be particularly diminished if it were to be shown that there were no other Phoenician names in the area. I have attempted to demonstrate the reason why a general name such as this might be of foreign origin. On the other hand, local names would not be expected from the contacts of mere traders, but would come with colonization and occupation. There has actually been much argument for the existence of Phoenician place names in the Aegean area. (See, e.g., Heinrich Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, 1895.) Most of these arguments are not convincing, especially since many of them seem motivated by pro-Semitic bias. Still, there are at least two regions (almost to be called one region) where there seems to me to be some evidence for Phoenician name-clusters. One of these is Megaris, an excellent site for a trading "factory," where *Megara*, *Kar*, and *Minoa* are all susceptible of attractive interpretations, viz., "station, temporary dwelling-place," "town," and "harbor." The almost adjacent area is the southwestern Aegean, where Herodotus asserts a Phoenician settlement in Cythera and Thera. The names here are *Minoa* (occurring twice), *Seriphos*, *Siphnos*, and *Cythera*; the last three might be respectively Fire, Mine, and Smoke Islands. All of these are likely names. Siphnos was famous for gold mines. Possibly there was volcanic activity in those centuries, but even without that supposition 'Fire' and 'Smoke' are moderately common in place-names.

began to enter the Aegean — a name such as *Asia* for the east coast of that sea, they might easily have taken it, by folk-etymology, to be their word for "east," and might thus have been the more likely to call the other shore *The West*.

Doubtless the history of the name was highly complicated. The Peloponnesus, being rather large to start with and being a natural (i.e., not a humanly created) area, may not have needed the new name, and may not at first have been so called, as the passage in the *Homeric Hymn* would indicate. Moreover, in a bad century or two when people stayed much at home and did little voyaging and had little sense of geography, there would have been little need for the name, and it may almost have died out.

Two factors, I think, established it firmly, so that it has become one of the great names. Shortly before 500 B.C. the Ionian geographers, especially Hecataeus, took up the study of the earth, and doubtless they were the first to grasp the conception of a continent as an entity. Having been conceived as an entity, it would need a name. And there was, ready at hand, the old, loosely-used term — *Europe*.

Of course, the division between Europe and Asia is not geographically real. Modern geographers have had to coin the term *Eurasia*, and have spoken of Europe as being merely a peninsula of Asia. But this anomaly arises far away, from the point of view of an Ionian geographer, off beyond the Black Sea in hazy regions of Scythia. In fact, for geographical reasons alone, even if all record should be lost, we would have to conclude that the distinction of Europe and Asia could have arisen only at some point along the line following salt water, from Byzantium to the north coast of Crete.

Second, there was the great Persian War. Beginning in 499 with the Ionian revolt, it dragged on, cold and hot, for half a century, until all moderate-thinking men must have been disgusted. In this period, I think, the distinction between Europe and Asia began to have more political significance. Implicit in the first chapters of Herodotus is the idea: "Asia to the Persians; Europe to the Greeks." He ends his fourth chapter with a statement that this was at least the Persian opinion. In modern terms it is a kind of expression that there should be spheres of influence, set off by the water-boundary. There can be no question but that this war sharpened the line of

distinction between Europe and Asia, politically and therefore geographically. Everyone knew that Xerxes, when he had crossed by his bridge at the Hellespont, had invaded, not merely Thrace, but also Europe. And when he had retreated, it was the same thing in reverse, as Aeschylus wrote in *The Persians*: "Shall the army of barbarians not all leave Europe by Helle's crossing?"

To summarize, the present article attempts to show that *Europe* and *Europa* go back to the same source, a Hebrew-Phoenician word meaning "west."

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The Selloi at Dodona

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THE NAME Σελλοί, given by Homer to the priests of the Pelasgian Zeus,¹ has most recently been discussed by Lochner-Hüttenbach,² who, adhering to the view of many authorities, is certainly right in rejecting the so-called Homeric variant 'Ελλοί. As concerns the explanation of Σελλοί, Lochner-Hüttenbach follows Güntert and Brandenstein in their comparison with Goth. *saljan* "to bring an offering, sacrifice," and with Brandenstein he assumes for Σελλοί the meaning "offerer, sacrificer." Now, it is evident that the proposed interpretation deserves some consideration. I wish, however, to draw attention to the fact that, so far as I know, no etymology of Σελλοί based on the whole text of Iliad 16. 233—235, has yet been suggested; the solution must, therefore, be sought for in the light of the materials quoted.

It is remarkable that the Σελλοί clearly show connections with the earth. The epithet *χαμαιοῦναι* "lying, sleeping on the ground" proves that the Σελλοί are firmly attached to the soil of the most ancient oracle of Zeus. In the same way is to be explained the epithet *ἀνιπτόποδες* "with unwashed feet," which is applied to the same priests and which in this Homeric passage immediately precedes *χαμαιοῦναι*. That is to say, *χαμαιοῦναι* is the basis we must start from for the elucidation of *ἀνιπτόποδες*: "with unwashed feet" means here "barefooted." For the Dodonaean priests the physical contact with the earth was not a pollution but a holy necessity.

¹ Il. 16. 233—235: Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων, | Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου ἄμφι δὲ Σελλοί | σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται, ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιοῦναι ("Zeus, Dodonaean and Pelasgic king, that dwellest far from here and rulest over snow-cold Dodona, where around thee dwell the Selloi, priests who never wash their feet and sleep on the ground": cf. Marris, *The Iliad of Homer* (London, etc., 1934.)

² *Die Pelasger*, (Wien, 1960), pp. 147 ff.

These conclusions prompt me to suggest for Δωδώνη, the name of the seat of the oracle, an explanation which places this word in the semantic field of χαμαιεῦναι and ἀνιπτόποδες. We may suspect that Δωδώνη, in which we meet at any rate a reduplication, is etymologically equivalent to Gk. γῶν: the phonetic development of -δων- can then be compared with that of Alb. *dhe* "earth" and also with that of OIr. *dū*, gen., acc. *don* "place." The original meaning of Δωδώνη, according to the sense found in χαμαιεῦναι and ἀνιπτόποδες, would have been "earth." In view of the close connections of the Σελλοί with the earth, we certainly have the right to assume that the form Δωδώνη was a nursery word denoting "Mother Earth;" the reduplication in Δωδώνη must therefore be regarded as very usual.³

Since the whole text of Iliad 16. 233-235 seems to move in the sphere of religious ideas associated with the earth, there is perhaps a reason for supposing that the Dodonaean Zeus (cf. Ζεῦ ἕνζ, Δωδωνῆς . . .) was the well-known Zeus κατὰ γῆνιν, who is mentioned in the passage of Iliad 9. 457, as the husband of the chthonian goddess Persephone. On the other hand, the fact that the seat of a chthonian cult is also that of an oracle causes no difficulty for, as Guthrie has said in his most interesting publication on Greek religion, "Gaia, the Earth herself, was 'the first of prophets,' and the best-known example of such an oracle of inspiration was Delphi, where it was universally acknowledged that Gaia had been the earliest occupant of the shrine."⁴

We may now go back to the name Σελλοί. The foregoing analysis of conceptions expressed in the above mentioned verses of the Iliad furnishes the clue for the right explanation of this word: not only do χαμαιεῦναι, ἀνιπτόποδες, Δωδώνη and, perhaps, the Dodonaean Zeus himself directly or indirectly point to the earth, but so also Σελλοί, which corresponds to Lat. *solum* "bottom, base, sole (of the foot or shoe)" and especially "ground, soil" (> It. *suolo*, Fr. *sol*, etc.).⁵ With regard to "ground, soil" we can take Σελλοί as "(the

³ This interpretation of Δωδώνη appears more plausible than the current view (discussed by Lochner-Hüttenbach, *Die Pelasger*, pp. 155ff.), which considers the word as a derivation from a so-called river-name Δῶδων.

⁴ *The Greeks and their Gods*, (London, 1950), p. 229.

⁵ For some Celtic and Greek cognates, cf. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1 (Bern-München, 1959), p. 1046.

priests) of the earth" in general (cf. Δωδώνη) or as "(the priests) of the ground" — "(the priests) who lie or sleep on the ground" = χμαξεῖναι. If the meaning "bottom, base, sole (of the foot)" is correct, we can understand a semantic parallel to ἀνιπτόποδες: the Σελλοί would thus be "(the priests) whose soles (of the feet) directly touch the ground, the earth."

That Σελλοί does not belong to the category of true Greek words is indicated by the retention of initial *s*. To me the theory of an Illyrian origin advanced by Mayer⁶ and accepted by Lochner-Hüttenbach,⁷ does not seem cogent. There is also the possibility that Σελλοί is a borrowing from Pelasgian, a pre-Greek but still Indo-European language, which was the source of several Greek cultural terms.⁸ IE initial **s* remains in Pelasgian:⁹ cf. σειρά "cord, rope" corresponding etymologically to Lat. *series*;¹⁰ σίλλυβος "parchment-label" containing σιλ(λ)- — OHG *silo* "cord, leather-strap."¹¹ No doubt in Pelasgian IE **sq*- has been simplified to *s*-. The Pelasgian form Σελλοί apparently represents IE **syel*-; Lat. *solum* can be derived from the same Indo-European form (cf. *soror* "sister" < IE **syēsōr*, *socrus* "mother-in-law" < IE **syēkr*-, etc.), but IE **syol*- would also have yielded Lat. *solum* (**y* was lost before *o* in Latin: cf. *fores* "door" < IE **dhyor*-).¹² As for -*ll*- in Σελλοί, the Latin form *solea* "sandal" (cf. *solum*) gives a good account of it: Σελλ- < *Σελ-ι-, etc. (assimilation *-l̥- > -ll-), of which Lat. *solea* < **solei-a* shows the strong grade in the suffix. There are other Pelasgian words with the same -*ll*-: cf. ζζῖλλλλς "nag";¹³ σάτιλλλ· πλειάς τὸ ἄστρον.¹⁴

There perhaps is decisive evidence to attribute Σελλοί to Pelasgian rather than to Illyrian: indeed, it is worth mentioning that

⁶ *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier*, 2 (Wien, 1959), pp. 102f.

⁷ *Die Pelasger*, p. 150.

⁸ Cf. my monographs: *Le pélasgique. Essai sur une langue indo-européenne pré-hellénique*, (Louvain, 1952); *Contributions à l'étude de l'onomastique pélasgique*, (Louvain, 1954); *Études pélasgiques*, (Louvain, 1960).

⁹ *Le pélasgique*, p. 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 134ff.

¹¹ *Études*, pp. 55ff.

¹² For **syol*- see Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1. 1046.

¹³ Van Windekens, *KZ* 76 (1959), pp. 78ff.

¹⁴ Van Windekens, *Orbis* 5 (1956), pp. 198ff.

in the above quoted text of Iliad 16. 233-235, Zeus is invoked by Achilles. Now, the name Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς is a Pelasgian loanword containing Ἀχ- = Lat. *aqua* "water" and identical in formation with Venetic *Aquileia*, Ἀκυλεις = *Aquilis* and Illyrian *Aquilo*.¹⁵ The form Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς clearly differs from *Aquileia*, etc. and *Aquilo* in having *kh* < IE **qʷ*: the labial element of the IE labiovelars is lost in Pelasgian;¹⁶ the development of **qʷ* to the aspirate is also in strict accordance with the Pelasgian sound-shifting.¹⁷

To the argument of the Pelasgian origin of the name Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς we may add that of the epithet of Zeus Πελασγικός, which has received a very satisfactory explanation in the light of the Pelasgian theory.¹⁸

Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς and Πελασγικός speak for the Pelasgian origin not only of Σελλοί, but also of Δωδώνη. The name of the oracle may well have come into Greek in the form **dōm*: the development **m* > *n* in final position would then have taken place in Greek; this **Δων* would have been extended by the suffix *-ā*.

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¹⁵ *Le pélasgique*, pp. 144f.; *Contributions*, p. 41; *Études*, pp. 109f.

¹⁶ *Le pélasgique*, p. 14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13 and pp. 17f.

¹⁸ Van Windekens, *Names*, 6 (1958), pp. 184ff.

Gelett Burgess and Names for Characters

JOSEPH M. BACKUS

FEW WRITERS OF FICTION have commented extensively on the names of their characters. C. S. Forester became one exception when he was interviewed by a member of the American Name Society; and Gelett Burgess, American humorist and novelist, became another when he devoted a two-thousand-word essay to names.¹

Near the end of a long career in letters, Burgess prepared his essay as a good-humored guide for younger writers and for other readers interested in using names outside of literature. In his essay, Burgess was chiefly interested in methods of selecting and originating names and in the effects that names produced. In general, his comment was based on his own experience and observation and possibly on a study of actual names published twenty years before by George R. Stewart.² To illustrate his essay, Burgess drew examples from his imagination and from the works of such writers as Shakespeare, Bunyan, Dickens, James, Kipling and O. Henry; and these examples can be identified with Burgess' own character names to reveal his own application of his theories. In the following discussion, unless otherwise specified, examples of Burgess' names are from *Find the Woman* (1911), a novel of "fancy to rival fact." Since the seventy-eight names among the 342 pages of this novel are introduced at about the rate of one new name for each four and one-third pages, double the proportion of all the names in his novels (418) to the total number of pages (3,637), *Find the Woman* must have made the heaviest demand on Burgess' name-producing pow-

¹ Gelett Burgess, "Make a Name for Yourself," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 30 (25 January 1947), pp. 9-10; 41. "C. S. Forester on Names of His Characters" appeared in *Names*, 1 (December, 1953), pp. 245-251. For their generous assistance in the preparation of the following article, I would like to thank Professor James D. Hart, Professor George R. Stewart and Frederick Anderson.

² George R. Stewart, "What's in a Name?" *Children*, 2 (December, 1927), pp. 22; 64. This interesting commentary on trends in popular names was reprinted by *Parents Magazine* as "Naming the Baby" in *The Mother's Encyclopedia*.

ers and should thus provide the greatest variety of examples. At the same time, however, his use of names during the fifty years preceding his essay is uniform enough and consistent enough with the essay to allow his comment to be extended to any of his eleven novels (1897–1942). First, however, it should be noted that an author best remembered for such nonsense quatrains as “The Purple Cow” and for the Goops, those circular-headed little people who teach good manners by examples of bad, would not be likely to choose names of deep significance; and Burgess did not. He designed most of his work to entertain, and, to produce suitable names for characters in his novels, he generally called the most mechanical devices of “mon-iker making” into play.

In his essay, Burgess indicated that the name of a character should first of all be plausible: that is not “obviously made up.” With the main objective of plausibility almost always in view, the remainder of Burgess’ comment falls into three categories: (1) suitability, (2) distinctiveness and (3) euphony.

1. Suitability. Of the three qualities listed, Burgess attached the most importance to suitability. If a name is “well selected and appropriate,” he wrote, it “adds verisimilitude to a story” and makes the characters “real and individual.” In making a name suitable, a first concern was a character’s social position. For an aristocrat, “it’s always safe to use [a name] with a topographical affix, such as ‘Westbridge’ [or] ‘Hampton’..., because such names hint at high life, since many landed estates are so named.” Considered in relation to *Find the Woman*, this theory would partly explain the origin of the full name “Montrose Framingham” for the son of a railroad president and the surname “Elkhurst” for a woman who leaves no question about her social status when she declares (p. 126): “My family is one of the best known and most highly respected in Philadelphia.” Elsewhere in the novel, however, Burgess’ aristocrats show a more becoming reserve, and therefore his method of naming them must be understood before these characters themselves are fully understood. For example, Burgess suggested the background of a certain bridegroom by only his suitable (if implausible) name: “Claude Kensington Van Proul Howich.” Similarly, he suggested an aristocratic background for the hero of the novel in the first and last of his seven aliases, “John Fenton” and “Bruce Courtenay;” and, because of the hints included in these two surnames, a reader should

not be surprised when, at the end, the hero is to be made a millionaire. In another novel, *The White Cat* (1907), Burgess carried this means of suggestion to extremes when he used topographical affixes exclusively to make up the hero's full name: "Chester Castle."

A closely related source for character names is actual placenames, which Burgess sometimes used when suitability did not require a suggestion of social status. In these cases, his selection of a name was a good deal more relaxed. "All you have to do," he wrote, "is to take a big atlas, open it up on your bed to the map of Europe, and, lying down on your stomach, follow your index finger over the page till you find a swell name like Caspian." Burgess' use of this system might account for two otherwise unaccountable names in *Find the Woman*, "Buda-Pesth" and "Michael Carnarvon." While Burgess used such placenames as these for humor or to carry a suggestion of exoticism, he also used familiar placenames that would disguise the intended significance of a character name and thus make it more plausible. For example, "Jack Richmond" includes a placename that is so well known as to all but conceal a suggestion of the character's high social position. Among other kinds of geographical names, Burgess ranged from direct application in *The Heart Line* (1907), where "Santa Rosa" is the only name of a resident of this California town, to more subtle derivation in *Ladies in Boxes* (1942), where "Marcella Northey" is the name of a Spanish-American entertainer.

Burgess abandoned geography altogether when he wanted a name that would be suitable for "an average man without a portfolio." In his essay, he recommended the name of a trade, such as "Baker" or "Brewer;" and thus, in *Find the Woman*, a reader can follow a part of his thinking when he called a certain stock-broker "Mr. Middle Class," then "Mr. Average Man" and finally "Baker." Few of Burgess' characters belong to this social class, however, and fewer belong to a lower one. His lack of interest in the names of servants is indicated by his usually giving them first names only, such as "Eliza" and "Karl," and by his repeating these names for different characters in this class. Otherwise, few of Burgess' characters bear identical names.

Names derived from trades lead to a consideration of those derived from other common nouns and to an age-old device especially useful to humorists. In his essay, Burgess noted that O. Henry went back to "the old Elizabethan trick of creating humor by naming

characters after common but incongruous objects;" and Burgess himself sometimes did the same thing. As examples, he cited such object names as O. Henry's "Cipher" and Shakespeare's "Pistol," which are incongruous with general reality but, at the same time, accentuate certain traits of the characters they represent. Comparable examples from Burgess' own work are "Mrs. Billion" (a nominal descendent of *A Little Sister of Destiny's* "Miss Million" [1906]) for a woman of great wealth; "Ruby Diamond" for a scintillating blonde model; and "Millie St. Valentine" and "Abey Moonstone" for two of Miss Diamond's best friends, a lady of evidently amorous tendencies and a flashy theater press agent, respectively. Similarly, the name "Tootsy Footlights" onomatopoeically echoes the "hoity-toity-chorus girl" that is Burgess' identification of the character bearing this name. In his use of object names for description, Burgess has again exaggerated the quality of suitability beyond his own limit of plausibility to gain a humorous effect.

Another way in which Burgess produced exaggerated names was by use of what he called "the Bunyan method" — that is, naming a character, like Mr. Kindheart, after his most representative trait. In his essay, Burgess noted that Dickens "wilfully overdid" the Bunyan method in his humorous *Mudfog Papers* with such names as "X. Ledbrain" and "Mr. Dummy;" and Burgess follows these examples in *Find the Woman* with "Officer McUgly" as the name of "one big, big, bull-necked policeman" and "Mr. Seymour" as the name of a millionaire socialist who preaches more than he practices. Before confessing in another essay that he had found editors "an acquired taste," Burgess had suggested his reason in another novel, *Mrs. Hope's Husband* (1917), where he had assigned to one of them the single name of "Peever." Burgess most clearly revealed his application of the Bunyan method in *Goop Tales Alphabetically Told* (1904), where he carefully explained the significance of each of 54 Goop names. For example, the first Goop in this book (p. 3) "is called Abednego because to bed he would not go."

Finally, to achieve suitability in a name, Burgess considered its metrics, scanning a name as if it were a unit of verse. In his essay, he called the trochee, for example, suggestive of a "persistent, hammering force," and thus, in *Find the Woman*, a reader can understand his using "*Billy Presto*" as the name of a boxer's sparring partner. An iamb suggested "decisive vigor" and produced a "high-

bred, high-chinned and high-heeled" quality, exemplified in Burgess' essay by "Pauline," a name he had also used for the authoress-heroine of *Mrs. Hope's Husband*. The dactyl represented a "more feminine meter," exemplified in *Find the Woman* by the first two names of Marguerite Maganel Morgan, an angelic but foolish Vassar girl. The anapest was "just the thing for sparkle and pep," a conception that might have caused Burgess to prefer the form "Courtney" to the more usual "Courtney" for his novel's sprightly hero. Finally, the spondee packed a "virile double punch" as in "Bobcat," the nickname of Burgess' idealized detective in *Ladies in Boxes*. While Burgess often used these four kinds of meter successfully in composing character names, he realized that the intended significance of less common meters could not always be communicated. For example, the amphibrach, he wrote in his essay, "combines art with power, as in Modjeska [or] MacArthur..., though you may interpret it differently." As for the amphimacer, "Well, what have Gene O'Neill and Joan Fontaine in common, anyway?"

2. Distinctiveness. In his essay, Burgess cited Henry James as a master of names that are both credible and distinctive. "Hardly ever do you find in his introspective tales a name that you have ever heard before [Straith, Munden, Beldonald], and yet every one is plausible." As a way of insuring a balance between distinctiveness and plausibility, Burgess advised that one component of a name, but only one, should be out of the ordinary. The name "Eddie Frawn," he said, "arouses no suspicion" and thus obeys his rule, while "Ellingwood Frawn" violates it. In *Find the Woman*, "Mrs. Grahamson-Davis" and "Stillwell Morgan" represent well balanced couplings; and "the Honorable Algernon Mudde" is described in the novel itself as being a "decorated name." Since this last comment indicates that Burgess was making conscious use of extraordinary components as he wrote the novel, he was probably violating his rule for a purpose when he included such an unbalanced coupling as "Montrose Framingham." In *A Little Sister of Destiny*, in regard to the similarly named "Mortimer Elphinstone," Burgess had an undiscerning admirer of this character observe (p. 120): "his name is — genteel, ain't it?"; and, in his essay, Burgess added that for a character in as low a position as that of gravedigger, for example, "Elphinstone" would be "cockeyed and improbable." From Burgess' commentary, it can be concluded that "Montrose Framing-

ham" represents another instance of exaggerated suitability and emphasizes the hyper-refinement of the young man to whom the name is assigned.

Conversely, the coupling of two ordinary names emphasizes a lack of distinction. In *Find the Woman*, for example, Burgess again broke his rule in using "Jane Davis" as the name of a drab actress and allows the sparkling Miss Diamond to expound on his reasons (p. 170): "Ain't that a scream? For Heaven's sake, what's the use of going on the stage if you can't beat the label you had when you lived back in Baraboo?"

A way in which Burgess sought to make women's names distinctive was to avoid those that had become common through actual use. "No heroine of mine," he wrote, "... will bear one of those hundreds of old rubber-stamp names [Dorothy, Ella or Mary Jane], and above all not one which is a diminutive [Jessie or Bessie]." Burgess' disdain for "rubber-stamp" names is also evident in *A Little Sister of Destiny*, where a character is certain of "a perfectly stupid day" if she goes to "Aunt Jane's," and in *Mrs. Hope's Husband* where a reader can sense the dreary provincialism that surrounds "Cousin Dorothy of Toronto." In *Find the Woman*, Burgess showed his aversion to diminutives by having a palmist suggest "Bessie" as a name of the elusive heroine and then discarding this name for the higher toned "Belle." Later, when Mr. Average Man's daughter, another "Bessie," is to be taken into Mrs. Billion's social set, she is given the more regal name of "Elizabeth." A diminutive that Burgess condemned in his essay is "Lulu" ("babyfied Louise"); and, in *The Heart Line*, "Lulu," as the name of a clairvoyant whose inept work with Egyptian eggs is disparaged by more clever charlatans, emphasizes Burgess' own attitude toward this character.

While most of Burgess' work bears out his comment on such names, his use of them in one novel, *Too Good Looking* (1936), might seem to refute it. In this novel, he included such diminutives as "Flossie" (for the heroine), "Minnie" (more often called "Auntie Min") and "Cousin Nettie;" and such rubber-stamp names as "Jane," "Mary," "Sally" and "Sue." But the appearance of so many names of this kind can be explained by noting that Burgess had twice associated one of them, "Jane," with countryfied places. In *Too Good Looking*, a country romance, he again stressed a lack of sophistication and best demonstrated this correlation in his use of

the name "Flossie," which combines a rubber-stamp name and a diminutive that is further elaborated by a dashing city visitor to "Flossiedoodle Darlo." While her name becomes more "babyfied," Flossie herself more and more determinedly courts her visitor's advances and thus reveals a greater naiveté. Burgess also used diminutives to achieve suitability in the names of such innocent heroines as *Love in a Hurry's* Flodie (1913) and *The Heart Line's* Clytie.

In his essay, as a less negative approach to distinctiveness in women's first names, Burgess suggested that they be taken from actual surnames, which, he said, impart individuality, or from the Bible, whose names carry "dignified overtones." But, if by Biblical names Burgess meant those commonly associated with the Old Testament, these last two suggestions were not products of his own experience. In his novels, both kinds of names were used for men only; and, while such surnames as "Stillwell" were sometimes first components of distinctive men's names, Old Testament names, on the other hand, emphasized a decided lack of dignity. In *A Little Sister of Destiny*, for example, Bildad Cushman is an uncouth tugboat captain; and, in *Love in a Hurry*, Jonas B. Hassingbury is a covetous backwoodsman. In the later *Too Good Looking*, male characters bearing Old Testament names are still rustic but less undesirable and correspond roughly to female characters who bear diminutives and rubber-stamp names. Auntie Min, for example, has a husband named "Si" and a son named "Seth;" and the countryside produces an "Eben," "Saul," and "Nathaniel." Between Burgess' early work and *Too Good Looking*, he can be seen mellowing in his regard for characters bearing Old Testament names. This suggestion of a progression toward conventional religion is one explanation of the disparity between his work and his essay, which he published eleven years after *Too Good Looking*, at the age of eighty.

The most ingenious device by which Burgess sought to achieve distinctiveness is a modification of a word game he attributed to Lewis Carroll; in this game, one word is changed to another by substitution of single letters. In his essay, to show the way the game could be adapted for the production of names, Burgess changed the common name, "Brown," into an uncommon one, "Frawn," by arbitrarily substituting "F" for "B" and "a" for "o." Since substitution can be continued until transformation is complete, names produced in this way cannot be identified with certainty. At the

same time, however, Burgess' use of the Lewis Carroll game might account for the development of such names as "Fernigan," "Chenoweth" and "Willie Jorkins" that cannot be explained by his use of other methods.

3. Euphony. To make a name euphonious, Burgess sometimes combined first and last names whose initial letters fell into alphabetical sequence. "We are so accustomed to our ABC's," he wrote in his essay, "that the ear finds a kind of satisfaction in such names as Adam Bede, Bliss Carman, Claude Duval..." In *Find the Woman*, Burgess most elaborately demonstrated his use of this device when he made "Belle Charmion" the name of his heroine. At the end of this novel, a case of mistaken identity must be resolved by an exchange of surnames between hero and heroine. If, however, the alphabetical sequence of initials is to be preserved in the heroine's full name after the exchange, her second surname must also begin with "C." For the same reason, the hero, who alternates surnames with the heroine, must have a first name beginning with "B." Thus, before the exchange of surnames, he is known as "Bruce Courtenay," and, when "Belle Charmion" becomes "Belle Courtenay," he becomes "Bruce Charmion." In this way, one set of alphabetically sequential initials has influenced the choice of four combinations of names. Burgess' transposition of these two surnames, which begin with the same letter but different sounds, shows that he sometimes used alphabetical sequence to please the eye rather than the ear.

Burgess followed an even more intricate system of naming in *The Heart Line* where he gave Frank Granthope, an autobiographical hero, the alphabetically sequential initials of his own two first names, "Frank Gelett." Because author and hero have the same first name, the series of identically initialed full names in this novel probably began with "Frank." In the novel itself, the hero's surname is said to have been made up from "Grant's hope" by Granthope's deranged guardian, Madam Grant. Since the guardian's surname begins with "G," her first name, to make a euphonious full name, must begin with "F," and her full name becomes "Felicia Grant." If a reader is curious about Madam Grant's maiden name, he may suspect that it, too, began with "G" and would not be surprised to learn near the end of the novel that it was "Gerard." In this novel, then, the initials "FG" have led to "Frank Granthope," "Felicia Grant," "Felicia Gerard" and, for reasons not pursued by

Burgess, to the name of his heroine, "Fancy Gray." If he had worked out his plot as he seems to have once intended, there would also have been a "Fancy Granthope" and a "Frank Gray."

Once *Find the Woman* has shown the close relationship between a pair of names with alphabetically sequential initials and plot, Burgess' use of such names in *The Heart Line* can be examined as suggesting the structural development of this earlier novel. Like *Find the Woman*, *The Heart Line* includes both the pairing of alphabetically sequential initials in the names of hero and heroine, Frank Granthope and Fancy Gray, and a case of mistaken identity resolved by an exchange of surnames. Before this exchange can take place, however, a second heroine, Clytie Payson, appears; and it is she, not Fancy Gray, who finally exchanges surnames with Granthope. Burgess disposes of his first heroine through suicide and never makes the pairing of initials significant: an ending as symmetrical as that of *Find the Woman* would have been inappropriate for what became his most realistic and ambitious work.

At the same time, however, Burgess demonstrated in *The Heart Line* that alphabetical sequences of initials can run backward as well as forward by including both "Pauline Osborne" and "Oliver Payson," but almost always such initials follow the usual order. In Burgess' last novel, *Ladies in Boxes*, they achieve an exact "ABC" relationship with the names of two sisters, Alice and Berta Conley.

In his essay, Burgess indicated that euphony could be produced by "a kind of hidden alliteration" created when one component of a name was an anagram of the other. As an example, he cited the title of a story, "Miss Lemrod's Emeralds," for which, he said, "Lemrod's" had been developed by rearranging the consonants of "Emeralds." In Burgess' novels, duplication of letters between components of character names, while less exact, occurs in such names as "Tootsy Footlights" of *Find the Woman*, "Leopold Gaillarde" and "Nelly Hellysh" of *Lady Méchante* (1909) and "Priscilla Lissiter" of *Two O'Clock Courage* (1934). In addition, between components of certain other full names, Burgess used consonants whose sounds are similar, particularly those that are sometimes grouped together as "liquids" and "nasals." These consonants occur, for example, in "Stillwell Morgan" of *Find the Woman* and "Errol Gammel" of *Too Good Looking*. Burgess' attention to consonants is further indicated by a notebook entry in which he called "Tormey"

an "unfinished sort of name..., you know, without a good hard consonant to bite on."³

In Burgess' essay, he dismissed "direct and overt alliteration" as being "strictly old hat;" and the few examples of this kind of alliteration in his work, like most names that contradict his essay, create a special effect. In *Find the Woman*, "Huldah Hoxey" intensifies the "old hat" quality of the village of Barnstable, where a character by this name was said to reside; and the three "M's" of "Marguerite Maganel Morgan" precisely accentuate a three-part division of character (p. 213): "part angel, part Vassar, and part darned fool." Another exceptional use of an overtly alliterative name occurs in *Vivette* (1897) with "Richard Redforth" (sometimes "Robin Redforth"), a name which Burgess admitted borrowing from the nine-year-old author, Bob (Robin) Redforth, of Dickens' *Holiday Romance* (1868). Before naming the hero of his first novel, Burgess had used "Richard Redforth" as a play name and then as a pseudonym for his earliest work. His long personal association with the name probably removed from it any offensiveness its alliteration might otherwise have caused.

Through the preceding discussion, most of the points of Burgess' essay have been covered, and most of the character names of his novels can be accounted for. Only two other major identifiable sources contributed to his fiction. One is characters in literature, and the other is actual persons. While Burgess mentioned neither source in his essay, his other work indicates that he made use of both.

As might be expected, names from literature occur chiefly in Burgess' earliest work. For example, in addition to Dickens' "Redforth," *Vivette* contains "Miss Florizel," a name which almost certainly derived from Shakespeare's "Prince Florizel of Bohemia" in *The Winter's Tale* by way of Stevenson's prince-hero in *New Arabian Nights* (1882). Burgess closely followed the latter work in the structure and tone of *Vivette* and *Lady Méchante*, where he further feminized the name as one of his countess-heroine's aliases, "Mrs. Florizelle Gaillarde"; and in this case one literary name seems to have led to another. A likely source for the surname is suggested in *A Little Sister of Destiny* when a character warns (p. 41): "If you

³ Notebook 66 [p. 23]; Burgess Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The entry, whose wording was possibly not original with Burgess, is dated 21 August 1913.

hear me say anything particularly crazy, like 'ring-galliard,' it's only Beaumont and Fletcher or John Webster." That Burgess was thinking of the latter playwright during his composition of *Lady Méchante* is shown by his use of a line from *The White Devil* as the novel's epigraph. But "Mrs. Florizelle Gaillarde" is only one name for Lady Méchante, who admits to as many aliases as costumes, having given each of her garments a single name and taking for herself the combined names of each ensemble. Burgess' intention that names from literature were to bring little of their significance with them is best illustrated by his use of "Sarah Gamp" as the name of a Goop.

The names of Burgess' characters that derived from those of actual persons can often be identified with a good deal of certainty. In *Find the Woman*, for example, the names of two boxers, "Jack Ketchell" and "Jake Kilgore," must have come from the names of two actual boxers, Stanley Ketchel and Jake Kilrain; and "J. O'H. Courtenay," the name of the hero's benefactor, must have come from "John O'Hara Cosgrave," the name of one of Burgess' own benefactors. In *The Heart Line*, names of characters and places closely patterned after actual persons and places often derived from the actual names of their prototypes. For example, an actual person named "Maisie" appears in the novel as "Mabel," and one named "Martinez" as "Maxim." Similarly, two actual cafés, Coppa's and Sanguinetti's, became "Fulda's" and "Carminetti's," respectively. In addition, a comparison between Burgess' notes and another novel, *Two O'Clock Courage*, shows that for this work he patterned two different characters, Mrs. Briggs and Mrs. Poole, after his own mother, whose maiden name was Brooks. Since both names in the novel bear certain similarities to the actual name, it may be supposed that, like the two characters, both names derived from a common source. In Burgess' notes, "Mrs. Brooks" is a name assigned to the character finally called "Mrs. Poole" — a name that is not distantly related semantically. In reference to the other character name, similarities between "Brooks" and "Briggs" — the same number of letters and the same arrangement of three common letters in each — suggest Burgess' use of the Lewis Carroll game. In this case, through the substitution of individual letters, "Brooks" would have been changed to "Briggs" through some intermediary word, such as the suggestive "Bridge."

While application of the Lewis Carroll game could have been useful in disguising actual names for satire, Burgess was seldom interested in this kind of humor. An exceptional instance, however, occurs among the Goop books and concerns a certain fellow writer reputed to be considerably less interested in genteel behavior than poetry. For example, *The Goop Encyclopedia* (1916) includes three Goops named respectively "Ezra Pond," "Ezra Pounce" and "Ero P. Pounds;" and *The Goop Directory* (1913) has one called "Esau Pound." Moreover, the two books together contain four other "Ezra's," making a total of eight possible variations of a single actual name. At the same time, few other Goop names are repeated as often as twice, and few resemble each other or can be identified with the names of actual persons. Such a unique concentration of similar names leaves little doubt about Burgess' purpose and suggests that some lines accompanying at least one Goop name can be read as both literary and personal criticism in the tradition, more or less, of Alexander Pope:

Don't let your hiccoughs loudly whoop
Like Ezra Pounce — he is a Goop!⁴

The seven other "Ezra Pound" poems can be read similarly as personal satire.

While such names show evidence of being derived from only one source or method, others show a number of processes working at once. For example, the name "Floradora Billingsgate" for a capricious actress includes the quality of suitability exaggerated for humorous effect, and, at the same time, the last syllable (as a topographical affix) suggests that this character has fallen from higher estate. In addition, euphony is achieved by the echo of similar sounds between the two main parts of each name, as well as between the two names themselves. And, while the name is far from plausible, it is certainly distinctive.

For his leading characters, Burgess generally combined all the qualities he desired in a name in equal proportion. In *Find the Woman*, for example, the name "Bruce Courtenay" is made suitable by the use of "Court," a topographical affix hinting of the hero's aristocratic background; and as an anapest, according to Burgess'

⁴ *The Goop Encyclopedia* (p. 114).

theory, "Courtenay" suggests this character's "sparkle and pep." Similarly, "Belle Charmion" is made suitable by the Bunyan-like emphasis of the heroine's chief characteristic, charm; and the dactyl "Charmion" suggests a "more feminine" quality than does her male counterpart's surname. In addition, both full names are made distinctive and yet plausible (within the romantic context) by the coupling of unusual surnames with simple, but not commonplace, first names. In both full names, euphony is insured not only by the alphabetical sequence of initials but also by the duplication of certain consonants or similar consonant sounds within each pair of components. Finally, the exchange of surnames at the end implies a compatible blending of traits between characters that, in turn, suggests the basis of attraction and of happiness in marriage, which is undoubtedly meant to follow. In short, judged by Burgess' own standards, these two full names complement each other and the romantic characters to whom they were assigned. In this way, they represent a most successful application of Burgess' theory to his work.

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Madame Chouteau's Grandchildren

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

IN WASHINGTON COUNTY, Missouri, there is a little town called *Cadet*. In eastern Kansas a small stream bears the singular designation *Ogeese*. Both are named for the children or grandchildren or greatgrandchildren of Madame Chouteau of St. Louis. The explanation is simple. *Ogeese* has nothing to do with fowls, wild or barnyard; it is merely a phonetic spelling of a not quite successful American attempt to pronounce the French given name Auguste. The little river was named either for Auguste Pierre Chouteau, a grandson, or for Auguste L. Chouteau, his nephew. *Cadet* at first seems a bit farther out of the way but the connection is obvious enough when you know the answer. It was called after either Madame Chouteau's second son Pierre or *his* second son Pierre junior, for *cadet* is French for "younger son" and this was the nickname in turn of each of these men, both in St. Louis and in the West of their day. They even shared the name: in more than one letter written during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century are references to "old Cady" and to "young Cady."

This paper is a somewhat desultory examination of the manner in which the spread of a family's activities may be seen in place names derived from the family. To go back to the beginning. Marie Thérèse Bourgeois, born in New Orleans in 1733, married René Chouteau there in 1748. She had five children by him. Her elder son, Auguste, as a boy was clerk to Pierre Laclède, a merchant of New Orleans, and assisted him in the founding of St. Louis in February, 1764. Madame Chouteau (separated from her husband) followed Auguste to the new town in September, 1764, with her second son Pierre and her three daughters, Marie Pelagie, Marie Louise, and Victoire. There she had the satisfaction of seeing her children all grow to maturity, living active and useful lives, and presently they gave her forty-six grandchildren, most of whom lived in their turn to maturity. She must have known at least a

dozen of her more than one hundred and fifty greatgrandchildren. Her sons and sons-in-law, her grandsons and grandsons-in-law she could watch operating as merchants and fur traders over a vast expanse of country and she would no doubt be interested to see how far their names were scattered in their day and since.

Since the Chouteau family played a considerable part in the early history of St. Louis it is not surprising to find their names widespread over the city. Chouteau Avenue is the most obvious. The area from 8th Street to about 20th, where Union Station and the railroad yards are today, was until the 1850's the site of Chouteau's Pond, a lake which had been formed by the damming of the Petite Rivière, as the French called it, or Mill Creek, as it was known in the 19th century. Chouteau's Island in the Mississippi north of the city has disappeared into Illinois — it is recognized only in Chouteau Slough (the remains of the old eastern channel) which one crosses on U.S. Highway 66 after leaving the Chain of Rocks Bridge. A postal station, a school, and a large apartment house also bear the name Chouteau.

The three daughters of Madame Chouteau married Charles Gratiot, Silvestre Labbadie, and Joseph Marie Papin. Streets are named after all three. Cabanne Avenue, Cabanne Place, and Cabanne Court are all named for Jean Pierre Cabanné who married a Gratiot daughter. Until quite recently a telephone exchange in St. Louis bore this designation — except that it was anglicized to *Cabany*! A Cabanné girl married James Kingsbury — for them were named Kingsbury Avenue, Kingsbury Place, and Kingsbury Court. Two of their daughters married men named Waterman and De Giverville and thereby provided two more street names in West End St. Louis. Still another Gratiot granddaughter married Jules De Mun in whose memory an avenue is named. Berthold Avenue keeps in mind Bartholomew Berthold, who married the first Pierre Chouteau's only daughter and had many heirs. Watson Road, Sarpy Avenue, Ewing and Morrison Avenues all commemorate descendants of Madame Chouteau. And no doubt there are many other local names, for her descendants today run to the ninth generation.

Chouteau enterprises reached far up the Missouri and down into the southwest. In Montana a county and a township in Teton County in that state bear the family name as do a county and a

creek in South Dakota. Pierre, the capital of South Dakota, derives its name from Pierre Chouteau junior; it began as Fort Pierre, an American Fur Company post. In Oklahoma a town named Chouteau and a Chouteau Creek are both named for Auguste Pierre Chouteau, who was for two decades a principal trader in what is now north-eastern Oklahoma. It was for him that Chouteau's Island in the Arkansas River was named, for there he beat off a strong attack by Pawnees upon a party of trappers and hunters he was bringing back from the headquarters of the Arkansas in 1816.

It was the Osage tribe with which the Chouteaus had the closest associations. As early as 1775 Auguste Chouteau was trading with them in partnership with his brother-in-law Labbadie and Pierre Laclede. In 1794 the Spanish governor of Louisiana gave the Chouteau brothers an eight-year monopoly of the trade with that powerful and difficult nation and to control it they built a fort in the heart of the Osage country, then in western Missouri. For several years after the transfer of Louisiana Pierre Chouteau was United States Indian agent for all the tribes west of the Mississippi and when that position was bestowed on William Clark in 1807 as recognition of his famous exploration, Chouteau was continued as agent for the Osage. Long before this — two years before he built Fort Carondelet — the Osage gave Pierre 30,000 arpents of land on the south bank of the Missouri west of present day Boonville. "As thou hast, since a long time, fed our wives and our children," declared the chiefs, "we do give it unto thee, and no one can take it from thee, either today or ever . . . and if some nation disturbs thee we are ready to defend thee." Chouteau Springs, on this grant, was a popular health resort in the decade before the Civil War.

Pierre Chouteau's name has been given permanency in another way, too, for the State of Oklahoma has made his birthday, October 10, an official holiday on the grounds that he founded the first white settlement of Oklahoma at Salina in 1796. That there is no truth in this matters not at all. Pierre Chouteau had no need of a trading post there in 1796, for he controlled the Osage trade at his own Fort Carondelet three hundred miles to the northeast. The first Chouteau of record to trade in the Salina area was his son Auguste Pierre more than twenty years later. By legislative fiat, however, the Chouteau name is set in the Oklahoma official calendar.

All these connections between the Chouteaus and this powerful and strenuous tribe make it easy to understand why the Osage name for St. Louis was Chouteau-town.

Of the sons of Charles Gratiot and Victoire Chouteau, Henry and John Bunyon moved to the lead country on the Upper Mississippi and it was for Henry that Gratiot, Wisconsin, was named. Fort Gratiot on Lake Huron, Gratiot Beach, and Gratiot County, Michigan, all derive from another son, General Charles Gratiot, once chief of engineers of the United States Army and builder, among other military structures, of Fortress Monroe at Hampton Roads, Virginia. Since I have never come upon another family of this name, I feel certain that Gratiot, Ohio, must be named for one of the Chouteau-Gratiot descendants. Point Labbadie on the Missouri and the town of Labbadie in Franklin County, Missouri, carry on the name of Silvestre Labbadie. Papinsville in Bates County, Missouri, near the Kansas border, was named for its founder, Pierre Melicourt Papin, one of the many sons of Joseph Papin and Marie Louise Chouteau and for many years of his life a trader with the Osage.

And there are other instances once current which are now gone from sight. Here perhaps may be included Charles Pierre Chouteau, an active member of the Missouri Academy of Sciences at St. Louis, for whom a limestone was named. A century ago steamboats on the Mississippi and the Ohio carried names of the family: the *Henry Chouteau*, the *Julia Chouteau*, and the *General Pratte* are three of them. Cabanné's Post, once a well known spot in the Missouri River trade, has been swallowed up in Omaha. Fort Berthold, above Fort Pierre, is now is the name of a spot which has been or is about to be flooded over by one of the new dams on the Upper Missouri. And let us not forget Chouteau's Landing at the mouth of the Kaw, for (as Frederick Billon noted in his *Annals of St. Louis*) François Chouteau, a son of the first Pierre, was "the founder and for many years the sole resident of Kansas City."

Note. That this family name was pronounced Chôteau in the late 18th and early 19th centuries is evident from the sound-spellings found in French, Spanish, and American manuscripts: Chotau, Chauteau, Choto, Shoto were some of the variants. See my "French Surnames in the Mississippi Valley," *American Speech*, IX, 28-30 (February, 1934).

Name Clues in Proverbs

O. PAUL STRAUBINGER

THE SEARCH FOR THE ORIGIN AND MEANING of an obscure proverbial allusion to a personal name is generally a rather hopeless undertaking. The passage of time has usually obliterated all the clues and even a broad search through pertinent works on history and legend or through literary sources will yield hardly more than an occasional precarious conclusion. Yet in rare instances patience combined with a goodly portion of luck may lead to a definite identification and explanation of one of these long forgotten allusions. In other instances we may be able to illustrate the influence of popular etymology on the rise of curious new onomastic connotations, by tracing the course of semantic or phonetic changes of names in the contextual pattern of proverbial use.

The *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* lists the saying "I will make him fly up with Jackson's hens" from a late seventeenth-century source as having been used proverbially in the sense of 'I shall undo him' and adds that the variant "to fly up with Jackson's hens" is still current in Southern Cheshire County in the related sense of 'to be bankrupt.'¹ No explanation is offered for this curious allusion to the name of Jackson, and in view of the rustic setting of the metaphor one might easily assume that the original bearer of this name has been some typical English farmer.

The striking similarity between our English proverb and a much older Low German saying, "Upflagen mit Sankt Jacobs hönern"² (to fly up with St. Jacob's hens) provides the clue to the original meaning and reference of the English proverb. The first documentation of the German proverb dates from the end of the sixteenth

¹ W. G. Smith and J. E. Hesseltine, *The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* (Oxford, 1935), p. 301.

² See K. Schiller and A. Lübben, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch* (Münster, 1931), Vol. 2, p. 396; O. Schütze, *Holsteinisches Idiotikon* (Hamburg, 1801-1806), Vol. 2, p. 154; K. F. Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörterlexikon* (Leipzig, 1867-1880), Vol. V, p. 835.

century when it was used in the sense of 'to depart in an unusual manner.' At present it is used when someone blushes, a drastic change of meaning which must be attributed to the obliteration of the original reference. In the original meaning of the Low German form of our proverb, we can identify, however, a meaningful allusion to one of the most popular legends of the cult of St. James.

St. James — in German St. Jakob — was one of the most highly venerated saints of the medieval Church. His shrine in Compostella ranked as a place of pilgrimage hardly second to Jerusalem or Rome. There are several legends that describe the miraculous resurrection of pilgrims who died during their pilgrimage to Compostella.³ Our proverb alludes to a dramatic incident in one of the most popular of these legends. As told in the Dutch folksong "Een liedeken van sint Jacob" which dates from the year 1544, two pilgrims, father and son, stop on their arduous journey to Compostella at an inn. The innkeeper's daughter falls in love with the younger pilgrim and tries to dissuade him from continuing on his pilgrimage. The older pilgrim intervenes and says: "My son with me and I with him. We shall seek St. James as pilgrims good and true." In revenge the jilted girl hides a silver cup from the inn in the older pilgrim's knapsack. When the two pilgrims are apprehended and found guilty of stealing the cup, the son shoulders the guilt for his father and is hanged. The father completes his pilgrimage to Compostella and implores St. James for help. Returning by the same route, he finds his son miraculously still alive on the gallows. He rushes to the inn and tells the innkeeper about the miracle whereupon the latter exclaims in disbelief: "This is as true as that these roast chickens will fly out of the door." No sooner said than the chickens fly up and away. By this miracle the real culprits are exposed. The innkeeper is hanged and his perfidious daughter is buried alive.⁴ The original meaning of the English proverb 'to undo one' as the innkeeper and his daughter were undone by the miracle clearly alludes to the main incident of the legend. The subsequent substitution of the similar sounding, typical English name Jackson for Jacob must have

³ See K. Kistener, *Die Jakobsbrüder*, ed. by Karl Euling, (Breslau, 1899), *passim*.

⁴ See L. Uhland, *Antwerpener Liederbuch* (Stuttgart, 1845), Vol. 12, pp. 803 to 807; L. Uhland, *Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder* (3rd ed., Stuttgart, 1893), no. 303.

occurred at a time when the original allusion to the legend of St. James was no longer understood.

Actually the chain of name substitutions in connection with the reanimated chickens can be extended still father back. Child's collection of *English and Scottish Ballads* lists our legend as a variant of the legend of St. Stephen and Herod which is still current in English and Scandinavian tradition.⁵ According to this older version King Herod when he learned from St. Stephen, his steward, about the newborn king in Bethlehem exclaimed in disbelief: "This is as false as the claim that this rooster in the dish before me would ever rise and crow." And the rooster rose and crowed that Christ was born, and Herod despaired and ordered St. Stephen to be stoned.

According to Child, the ultimate source of the miracle of the reanimated rooster is to be found in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus which describes it as the decisive incident of the fateful events that culminated in the death of Judas Iscariot by his own hands. Judas, we are told, returned to his home after he had tried in vain to return the thirty pieces of silver, and found his wife roasting a cock on the spit. When he told her that he was going to hang himself because Jesus, his master, whom he had betrayed, was to be put to death but would rise again from the grave and then woe to them, his wife replied scornfully: "I do not believe you; for this rooster on the spit before me will as soon crow as Jesus rise again." And ere she had finished these words, the rooster flapped his wings and crowed twice. Then Judas was fully convinced, made a noose from a rope and hanged himself.

This odd chain of name substitutions in reference to a striking incident, starting with Judas and ending with the irrelevant allusion to an unknown Jackson, has its antithesis in some interesting examples of the evolution of meaningful proverbial allusions to names through phonetic and semantic changes that can be attributed to popular etymology.

The German saying "Einen krummen Lorenz machen" (to make a crooked Lawrence) is widely used as a contemptuous reference to boorish manners in the sense of 'to bow' or 'to dance awkwardly.' The saying is first documented in a novel by the North German

⁵ See F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (London, 1882), Vol. 1, pp. 233-242.

author Johann G. Müller at the end of the eighteenth century.⁶ Shortly afterwards it is found current in such widely separated regions as the Lower Palatinate, Swabia, Silesia and Holstein.⁷ An expanded variant, "Giv din best Hand, kraz achterut un mak en krummen Reverenz" (Hold out your best hand, scrape and take a crooked bow) which is commonly used in Holstein, provides the clue to the origin of this proverbial reference to the name of *Lorenz*. The substitution of *Reverenz* (reverence) for *Lorenz* in this Low German variant suggests that the saying had its origin in a popular association of the name with the French word *révérence* which in Low German is often mispronounced as *Leverenz*.⁸ Popular etymology then accounts in turn for the transition from *Leverenz* to *Lorenz*. Support for this hypothesis is found in a German farce of 1620, in which the verb *laurenzen* is used as a German corruption for French *faire la révérence*.⁹ Changes in either the literal or the metaphoric meaning of our saying should be noted in Silesia and Swabia where the vernacular Low German link to French *révérence* is missing. In Silesia the phrase is now used both in the related sense of 'to make an obligatory social call' and in the new sense of 'to clean one's plate with the bent finger.'¹⁰ Lack of familiarity with the French roots of the saying manifestly accounts for a completely new interpretation of the phrase in Swabia, a predominantly Catholic region, where it is linked to the story of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence.¹¹ According to legend, St. Lawrence is supposed to have been roasted on live coals, and our saying is regarded as an allusion to the picture of the saint in his last agonies and convulsions, just as the English expression "Lazy Laurence" is said to allude to the

⁶ J. and W. Grimm and others, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig 1854ff.) Vol. 6, p. 1151.

⁷ See A. Edeln von Klein, *Deutsches Provinzialwörterbuch* (Frankfurt, 1792), Vol. 1, p. 261; K. Rother, *Die schlesischen Sprichwörter und Redensarten* (Breslau, 1928), p. 259; O. Schütze, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 50.

⁸ G. K. Andresen, *Über deutsche Volksetymologie* (6th ed., Leipzig, 1899), p. 135.

⁹ See *Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland*, ed. by J. Tittmann (*Deutsche Dichter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* Vol. 13), p. 43 and footnote on the same page.

¹⁰ K. Rother, *op.cit.* pp. 97ff.; H. Fischer, *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch* (Tübingen, 1904ff.), Vol. 4, p. 1286.

¹¹ See E. Nied, *Heiligenverehrung und Namengebung* (Freiburg i. B., 1924), p. 52; H. Fischer, *loc.cit.*

Saint's stubborn refusal to turn over while he was consumed by the searing flames.¹²

The most amusing of these semantic changes of names through proverbial use is found in the case of the widely current German saying, "Den heiligen Ulrich anrufen" (to invoke St. Ulric). It is used euphemistically in the sense of 'to vomit.' This irreverent sense was obviously derived from the use of the name Ulrich in imitation of the sound produced by regurgitation. The earliest documentation of this saying dates from the late sixteenth century.¹³ There is evidence, however that it originated at least a century before this time. The name of the second fool in the woodcut of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (1494) is Uli (short for Ulrich) von Stouffen. The editors of the *Narrenschiff* consider Uli von Stouffen to personify a 'gay drinking companion.'¹⁴ This indication of an early association of the saint's name with the connotation of insobriety is supported by an expanded version of our saying, "Sanct Ulrich und sein Compan ruffen die vollen bawren an" (the drunken peasants invoke St. Ulric and his mate) which is listed in several proverb collections from the seventeenth century.¹⁵ Since there is no historical basis for the notion that St. Ulrich, the worthy bishop of Augsburg, ever did bless excessive drinking, we must attribute the saint's incongruous role as patron of the inebriates to the currency of our proverbial allusion to his name.

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¹² Smith and Hesseltine, *op.cit.*, pp. 355f.

¹³ See K. Albrecht, *Die Leipziger Mundarten* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 266; G. K. Andresen, *op.cit.*, p. 118; W. Borchardt and G. Wustmann, *Die sprichwörtlichen Redensarten im deutschen Volksmunde* (6th ed., Leipzig, 1925), p. 482; H. Fischer, *op.cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 80; F. S. Hügel, *Der Wiener Dialekt* (Wien, 1873), p. 170; J. A. Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch* (Stuttgart, 1823-1837), Vol. I, p. 63.

¹⁴ See *Sebastian Brant's Narrenschiff*, ed. by F. Zarneke (Leipzig, 1854), p. 307.

¹⁵ K. F. Wander, *op.cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 1407; Grimm, *op.cit.*, Vol. 11, 2. p. 759.

Two Names in *The Reeve's Tale*

NORMAN D. HINTON

THE NAME MALYNE occurs only once in *The Reeve's Tale*, at A 4236¹. The clerk Aleyn addresses the miller's daughter when he is about to leave her bed, having spent the night with her as "esement" for losing his corn to the miller.

And seyde, "Fare weel, Malyne, sweete wight
The day is come, I may no lenger byde;
But evermo, wher so I go or ride,
I is thy awen clerk, swa have I seel!" (A 4236—4239)

The daughter's name has been studied by various scholars, while the name of the clerk has not been given any attention. *Malyne* and *Aleyn*, as a pair, are names which seem to have some relation to each other. It is my contention that Chaucer meant the names to be taken together, and that the meaning of each name has some relation to the poem.

The usual gloss for *Malyne* is "dishcloth." Skeat cites the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, which glosses *malin* as *tersorium*,² and this has been taken to be the primary meaning of the name in Chaucer. Baum cites *tersorium* in his list of puns, commenting that it is "not unfitting for this miller's daughter."³

The secondary meaning of *Malyne* is also discussed by Skeat, who notes that it is a variant of *Malkin*.⁴ He refers to *Piers Plowman*, Cii, 181, and to *Canterbury Tales* B 29—31, for examples of the proverb.

Ye haue no more meryt. in masse ne in houres, (PP C ii, 180—1)
Than Malkyn of hure maidenhod. wham no man desireth.

It wool nat come agayn, withouten drede,
Namooore than wole Malkynes maydenhede,
Whan she hath lost it in her wantownesse. (CT, B 29—31)

¹ All quotations from Chaucer are taken from F. N. Robinson, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd edition, Boston, 1957.

² W. W. Skeat, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1900, Vol. V, p. 126.

³ P. F. Baum, "Chaucer's Puns," *PMLA* 71 (1956), p. 240.

⁴ Skeat, *op. cit.*, and cf. also Skeat, *Piers the Plowman*, Oxford, 1886, Vol. II, p. 29 (Note on PP C ii, 181).

There are two considerations here, first, that *Malyne*, or *Malin*, means dishcloth, and that Chaucer is making fun of the girl by giving her such a name, and, second, that the name involves a proverb about loss of maidenhead. R. E. Kaske has made the most convincing statement of these theories:

What turns these two lines into parody of course (besides their context) is the name *Malyne* . . . lexically an oven-mop, and in its general significance either the name for a slut or a "typical lower-class female name from the late thirteenth century onwards" This sudden introduction of *Malyne*, however, seems also to suggest the Miller's daughter as a sort of burlesque-incarnation of the apparently familiar proverb about Malkin's lost maidenhead. . . .⁵

First, as to *tersorium*, one thing is generally overlooked — the joke isn't funny. What is the point of calling the Miller's daughter a dishrag or oven-mop? Although Baum lists it as a pun, and remarks that it is "fitting," he gives no real explanation of why it is fit. There is nothing in *Malyne*'s character that especially suits her for the name "dishcloth" — indeed, *Malyne* has no character at all, either sluttish or otherwise. We know that her figure is well-developed (A 3972–3976), that she has brought the food from town (A 4136), that she sleeps in the same room as her parents (A 4142), and that she snores (A 4167). We also know that Aleyn has spent the night with her. None of this demands or even suggests that the girl should be named "dish cloth."

Nor is it typical of Chaucer to make this sort of joke for joke's sake, having little or no relationship to the context. Calling someone "dishcloth" just because it is a silly name is descending to the lowest level of humor. Although Chaucer obviously liked "low" humor, his *fabliaux* are structurally complex and thoroughly worked out. *Malyne* may gain an extra boost from associations with *tersorium*, but it seems unlikely that Chaucer would stoop so low simply for an additional laugh.

There is some doubt in my mind about the positive identification of *Malyne* with Malkin. For one thing, the proverb is usually found with the name in the form *Malkin*. When Chaucer uses it, he uses this form (B 30). At B 30, Malkin is the form given in every manuscript. At A 4236, by far the majority of the manuscripts give

⁵ R. E. Kaske, "An Aube in the *Reeve's Tale*," *ELH* 26 (1959), 299–300.

Malyne as the form. Thus there is at least some evidence to suggest that Chaucer differentiated between these two forms of the name.

As for the name Malkin in *Piers Plowman*, Professor F. G. Cassidy has pointed out that the passage means just the opposite of the proverb — that Malkin is there pictured as so undesirable that there is no virtue in her retaining her maidenhead, since nobody wants it.⁶ This at the least shows that the proverb did not give the name a fixed meaning — it was possible for Langland to use Malkin in a different context.

Thus there is at least some doubt that we should take the meaning *tersorium* as the primary reason for Chaucer's naming the miller's daughter. This is not to say that there was no reason at all for the name. There was no absolute need for Chaucer to assign a name to her — the miller's wife is never named, and one might assume that the two clerks are named simply to tell them apart. *Malyne* was not used for a rhyme with Aleyn, either, since it occurs in the middle of the line in its only appearance. It could easily have been replaced by some other locution — "my derling" would scan equally well, for instance. My main objection to "dishcloth" is that it gives Chaucer rather too little credit, making him out a buffoon at this point instead of a complex imaginative writer.

It is my contention that *Malyne* and *Aleyn* are meant to be taken together, and that there is a set of bilingual puns with two old French words.⁷ The words are not uncommon, and it is more than likely that both Chaucer and his audience would have been more familiar with them.

Almost all the meanings listed in Godefroy⁸ for the two verbs *alignier* and *malignier* fit the situation in the *Reeve's Tale* and inform the immediate context. In Modern French the two words mean just about the same as their English cognates *align* and *malign*, but

⁶ F. G. Cassidy, "The Merit of Malkyn," *MLN* 63 (1948), p. 52.

⁷ Pure bilingual puns have not been found in Chaucer, but perhaps this is because no one has looked for them. A large number of hitherto unsuspected puns have been turned up in the four years since Baum's article (cited above) appeared. In the list in that first article of Baum's, *argument* and *clause* involve the Latin cognates, *dangerous* the Old French etymological meaning, and *visage sanz peinture* is a pun in Old French without relation to an English meaning. (Baum, pp. 230–231, 233, 235, and 246 respectively.)

⁸ F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de L'Ancienne Langue Française*, Paris, 1881.

in Old French they have a number of other connotations which are relevant here.

Godefroy defines *alignier* as *arpenter*, *accoupler*, *couvrir* (used of animals), and *peupler*. All these meanings apply directly to Aleyn's activities of the night. *Malignier* means *machiner*, *tramer*, *tromper*, *etre trompeur*, and *user de fraude*. These terms likewise apply to Malyne's part in the story, since she has helped her father trick the students out of their corn, and confesses it here, just after she is named.

These meanings contribute to an understanding of all the elements of the passage. For instance, the lines "Aleyn wax very in the dawenyng, / For he had swonken al the longe nyght" refer to Aleyn's actions not only through straightforward narrative, but in the very meaning of his name. And Malyne has been faithful to her name, too.

Right at the entree of the dore bihynde
Thou shalt a cake of half a busshel fynde
That was ymaked of thyn owene mele,
Which that I heelp my sire for to stele. (A 4243—4246)

The Reeve's Tale is the story of a trickster tricked, and of trickery overcome by the act of love. This is obvious from the story line itself, and does not need the secondary meaning of the names to make it clear. But the choice of Aleyn and Malyne as the names of the two people involved carries the situation a little deeper than the incidents alone. The principal characters are in a sense named for their natures, just like the characters in *Piers Plowman*. This abstract naming carries out further the process which Kaske mentions in his article — it keeps them from turning suddenly into real human beings near the end of the story, which would make the whole plot line take a different direction. Aleyn and Malyne remain part of the design. When their names are mentioned together here, the relationship to the other meanings should become clear to the reader, as the words were certainly known to French speakers of the time. (*Alignier*, for instance, is used in the *Roman de la Rose*.) The names Aleyn and Malyn provide another example of Chaucer's ability to operate on his reader in every possible way and at various "levels of meaning."

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French Canadian Names

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In Louis Hémon's delightful novel, *Maria Chapdelaine*, there is an interesting paragraph concerning personal names among French Canadians that should interest onomatologists. The piquancy of the names of persons used by the author in the development of his story is commented upon as follows:

"In the Province of Quebec there is much uncertainty in the spelling and the use of names. A scattered people in a huge half-wild country, unlettered for the most part and with no one to turn to for counsel but the priests, is apt to pay attention only to the sound of names, caring nothing about their appearance when written or the sex to which they pertain. Pronunciation has naturally varied in one mouth or another, in this family or that, and when a formal occasion calls for writing, each takes leave to spell his baptismal name in his own way, without a passing thought that there may be a canonical form. Borrowings from other languages have added to the uncertainties of orthography and gender. Individuals sign indifferently Denise, Denije, or Deneije; Conrad or Conrade; and men bear such names as Hermenegilde, Aglaë, Edwige."

This "perfect little cameo" of the lifeways and thoughtways of rural French Canadians is no less interesting for its numerous examples of Canadian French place names — "a thousand names piously bestowed by peasants from France on lakes, on rivers, (and) on the settlements of the new country." The author obviously enjoys these names as much as his readers should: "How sweet to hear these names. . . Where can one (better) find the happy music of the French names?"

This tenderly fictionalized ethnography of folk life is now easily available in an inexpensive paperbound edition, as a Doubleday "Image Book" (D40), Garden City, N. Y., 1956 (translated by W. H. Blake, with the above quotations from pp. 46, 182—3). The present edition of this popular Catholic classic is in at least its 25th reprinting in English translation since 1921. It is a novel of unusual interest to students of names, but, so far as I have noticed, goes unmentioned in the standard bibliographies of onomatology.

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Place Names in the Khasi Hills District

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THE KHASIS ARE ONE OF SEVERAL TRIBES living in the hilly section of Assam in eastern India. Politically they are Indians, but their physical characteristics are more those of the Southeast Asian and Pacific Ocean peoples, their traditional religion is animistic, and their village organization is based on matrilineal descent from a great ancestress.

The Khasi language with its four dialects, Lngngam, Synteng or Pnar, War, and Khasi proper, is classified as one of the six major Mon-Khmer languages. There is no written Khasi literature.

When around 1835 British missionaries first came to the Khasi Hills, they established an alphabet in Roman characters, translated the Gospels and some English poetry, and wrote several prescriptive grammars fitting this analytic and isolating language into the categories of traditional Latin grammar. One native Khasi grammarian, U Nissor Singh, has written an excellent Khasi-English dictionary which has been of invaluable help to me.

My own knowledge of Khasi stems from a year's fieldwork with two native speakers who happened to be students in Berkeley, California. My descriptive grammar of Khasi was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in 1957 and, it is hoped, will soon be published.

1. Most of the geographical names discussed in the following are taken from the World Aeronautical Chart, Number 554, Brahmaputra River Section, 1954 Edition. A small number occurred in stories told by my informant Berkeley Pugh.

1.1 The traditional British spellings on the map permit easy transferral into phonemic writing. In two cases a Khasi speaker commented on apparent misspellings. However, a word of caution is necessary: without personal investigation in the field, the etymologies here presented must be considered strictly tentative.

2. Many Khasi place names are compounds whose constituents refer to physical features of nature: /[?]um/ 'water,' /wa[?]/ 'river, stream,' /maaw/ 'stone,' /khlaaw/ 'forest.'

2.1 A suburb of Shillong, the capital of Assam, is called *Wahrisaw*¹ = /wa^ʔ/ + /rii-saaw/² 'small bamboo cane for making arrows,' and can be translated by 'Bamboo River.' /rii-saaw/ itself is a compound of /thrii/³ 'cane' and /saaw/ 'to be red, to be not quite ripe.' It should be mentioned here that /saaw/ also means 'four' and that /rii-saaw/ is also the name for the month of October. We may, however, assume that the /saaw/ in the name for October does not contain the numeral 'four' since another month, /yayon/ 'April,' contains another color-word, namely /yon/ 'to be black.'

Another 'water' compound is *Wahmluh* = /wa^ʔ/ + /mlu^ʔ/ 'salt,' 'Salt River.'

2.2 In the north of Shillong /^ʔum/ 'water' compounds predominate:

Umran = /^ʔum/ + /ran/ 'to shrink' = 'shrinking river.'

Umswai = /^ʔum/ + /swaay/ 'to be restless' = 'restless river.'

Umsning = /^ʔum/ + /sniaŋ/ 'pig' = 'pig river.' The country dialect around Shillong uses /snij/ for /sniaŋ/.

Umlaiteng = /^ʔum/ + /laay-teŋ/ 'three fathoms deep.' A /hteŋ/³ is a bamboo stick used to measure the depth of water; /laay/ is the numeral 'three.' This place then, is called 'deep river.'

2.3 West of Shillong /maaw/ 'stone' names predominate:

Mawiong = /maaw/ + /yon/ 'to be black' = 'Blackstone'

Mawdem = /maaw/ + /dem/ 'to yield' = 'surrendered stone'

Mawmluh = /maaw/ + /mlu^ʔ/ 'salt' = 'Saltstone'

Mawkarah = /maaw/ + /kara^ʔ/ 'to dig up' = 'unearthed stone'

Mawphlang = /maaw/ + /phlaŋ/ 'grass' = 'grass stone' = 'moss'

2.31 *Mawsmai* = /maaw/ + /smaay/ 'to swear' = 'Swearstone.' The story behind this village is the following: There once was a quarrel between the chiefs of two neighboring villages; they were uncle and nephew and the feud had been lasting for a long time. The nephew finally said: "I swear that I shall never set foot in your village again, not even for a drink of water." He then erected a memorial stone to commemorate his oath for all times.

¹ The traditional missionary alphabet used for writing Khasi since the middle of the 19th century renders the final glottal stop /^ʔ/ by *h*.

² Hyphens are used for easier reading of Khasi compounds.

³ In compounds some initial consonant clusters lose their first consonant.

2.32 In *Mawliba* and *Mawmarin* the meanings of the second constituents could, unfortunately, not be ascertained. It is possible that they are both verbs, but it is also possible that *--liba* is a compound of /li[?]/ 'to be white' and /ba[?]/ 'to be big.' In this case *Mawliba* would mean 'big white stone.'

2.4 Southwest of Cherrapunjee lies *Lawbah* = /khlaaw/³ 'forest' + /ba[?]/ 'to be big' = 'big forest.'

2.5 In the western part of the Hills District many place names begin with /šnoŋ/³, the word for 'village':

*Nongkynshi*⁴ = /šnoŋ/ + /knšii/ 'to admonish' = 'forbidden city'

Nongkhlaow = /šnoŋ/ + /khlaaw/ 'forest' = 'forest village'

*Nongtyrkhang*⁴ = /šnoŋ/ + /trkhaŋ/ 'fern' = 'fern village'

*Nongpoh*⁴ = /šnoŋ/ + /po[?]/ 'to be low' = 'low-lying village'

Nongjri = /šnoŋ/ + /jrii/ 'rubber' = 'rubber village'

Nongkrem = /šnoŋ/ + /krem/ 'cave' = 'cave village'

Nongspung = /šnoŋ/ + an unidentified morpheme

Nongsawlia = /šnoŋ/ + /saaw-lia/ 'to be reddish and very tender' = is perhaps 'village of the young bamboo.'

Nongthymmai = /šnoŋ/ + /thmmaay/ 'to be fresh, new' = 'the new village.' A part of Shillong is also called by that name.

2.6 *Rangshken* is supposed to be a misspelling for *Nongshken* = /šnoŋ/ + /šken/ 'a thin bamboo' = 'bamboo village.'

3. The etymologies of the following nine village names are not based on information from informants and must therefore be considered as unreliable.

3.1 *Shaitdainthlen* is probably 'a waterfall near which the Thlen, a demon, was cut,' i.e. killed: /kšaaŋ/³ 'waterfall' + /dañ/ 'to cut' + /thlen/ 'the evil snake demon.'

3.2 *Pynursla* south of Shillong may be 'the village of fallen leaves': /[?]ur/ 'to fall' with the prefix /pn-/ means 'to cause to fall,' while /sla/ means 'leaf.'

3.3 *Laitmausiang*. /laŋ/ means either 'to be free, to escape' or 'to have just cleared'; /siaŋ/ is a rock and a /maaw-siaŋ/ is a 'fallen rock.' This village would then have the name 'escaped from stones'

⁴ The missionary alphabet uses *y* before liquids and nasals which in phonemic writing have syllabic qualities.

falling from the sky.' Another village south of Shillong, *Laitmaowan*, cannot be identified at all since the meaning of /pan/ or /maaw-pan/ is unknown.

Laitumkhrah = /laj/ 'to be free' + /ʔum/ 'water' + /khra/ 'water vessel.' This village name could be translated by 'empty water jug' or 'water jug without water in it.'

3.4 *Dingpasoh* is probably a compound of /diey/ 'tree' and /pasoʔ/ 'to be fleshy, muscular,' so that /diey-pasoʔ/ means 'a thick tree.'

3.5 *Lunding* is probably a compound of /luom/ 'hill, mountain' and /diŋ/ 'fire,' so that /luom-diŋ/ means 'fire hill.'

3.6 *Jarain* to the east of Shillong could be identical with /jarañ/ a vegetable of sour taste, but more likely it is a Synteng⁵ name.

3.7 The first constituent of *Langpa* in the extreme southwest of the Hills District could be /blay/ 'goat' or /phlay/ 'grass,' and the second constituent could be /kpa/ 'father,' but more likely this is a Lyngngam⁶ word.

3.8 *Pambriew* could mean 'fallen man,' since /pam/ means 'to cut, to fell' and /briw/ is the word for 'man.'

3.9 *Pomsahmen* is supposed to be the name of a man who was beheaded in a massacre below Mawsmai /2.31/. This man's name is probably a compound of /pom/ 'to cut,' i.e., 'to behead' and /soʔ-men/, a certain fruit. Neither the dictionary nor my informant knew what kind of fruit this could be.

4. *Shillong*, the capital of the Khasi Hills is called /laban/ by the natives. No etymology comes to mind readily, and none of my informants could associate this name with any meaning known to them. /laban/ is therefore probably the Khasi version of an Asamese word. *Cherrapunjee*, the city famous for its record rainfalls, is called /soʔra/ by the Khasis. Although there is a verb /soʔra/ 'to bear scanty fruit,' it is unlikely that there is a relationship between this verb and the city.

5. Other Khasi place names appearing on maps of India represent probably "khasifications" of non-Khasi names.

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⁵ The inhabitants of the Jaintia Hills are also called Syntengs.

⁶ The Lyngngams are a hill tribe living in the northwest of the Khasi Hills.

Wetaug — A Place-name Puzzle

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THE VILLAGE OF WETAUG is located on Illinois Route 51, about twenty miles north of the Ohio River, in the Illinois area called 'Egypt' (a popular name which is applied to the whole of southern Illinois). According to popular tradition, the village got its name from a Cherokee chief who died there in 1838 when a large band of Cherokee Indians crossed southern Illinois on their way to new homes in Oklahoma Territory. The writer recalls that several years ago a friend pointed out Chief Wetaug's grave in the yard of a residence in the village. Enquiry among the people of the Wetaug vicinity indicates that local residents accept the Chief Wetaug legend as the authentic explanation of how their village got its name.

The popular explanation of Wetaug has also found its way into print in a number of recent publications dealing with southern Illinois lore. In "Egyptian Place-Names" (*Egyptian Key*, March, 1947), Griffith says "... and Wetaug was named for an offshoot of the Cherokee which remained in the vicinity after the tragic trek of the Cherokee from North Carolina and Georgia to the present Oklahoma." Griffith thus limited his explanation to a branch of the Cherokee tribe, with nothing about 'Chief Wetaug.' The *Illinois . . . Guide* (Chicago, 1939, 1947) also suggests the 'tribe' explanation but adds: "The grave of one of the chiefs of the tribe is on the grounds of a local residence." Clarence Bonnell, in *The Illinois Ozarks* (Harrisburg, 1946) went all the way: "It is said that Chief Wetaug was one of those who traveled alone or in small groups and that he lingered about where the village of Wetaug is located. He died there. His grave is known. It is said to be in a yard in the village." In *Echoes of the Red Man* (New York, 1955), Irvin Peithmann says, "The town of Wetaug in Pulaski County gets its name from a Cherokee chief who died here during that winter in southern Illinois."

Whether Indian chief or branch of tribe, Wetaug is obviously considered Cherokee in origin by popular decision and among recent writers of southern Illinois history and lore. It is only when we turn to other sources of information that we find reason to wonder about the correctness of the popular explanation, which has its origin in oral tradition only.

In his *History of Alexander, Union and Pulaski Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1883), W. H. Perrin is silent on the origin, merely saying that the first settler, a man named Sowers, "settled at the Big Spring, as it was called, and which is now in the village of Wetaug in 1816." Perrin's county histories are noted for the inclusion of all sorts of odd lore, but the omission of the story of Chief Wetaug is not necessarily significant. Then, in 1884, W. K. Ackerman, an ex-president of the Illinois Central Railroad, published his *Early Illinois Railroads*, in which he stated that Wetaug was named for a town in Massachusetts, by George Watson, Division Superintendent of the Illinois Central. Watson was in office at the time the railroad was being built, and many of the towns along the road were named by company officials. Modern atlases and other sources consulted fail to show any Massachusetts town named Wetaug; but just across the border in northwestern Connecticut there is a flurry of Wetaugs, centering in Salisbury Town(ship). In fact, Wetaug (also spelled *Wesatogue*, *Wiatiak*, and by the Dutch *Wootawk*) was the Indian name of Salisbury Town, or of part of it. In "Place-Names in Salisbury, Connecticut" (*Names*, June 1958), Morse Allen states:

In 1723, when Wetaug's boundaries were written down, it meant the northeast quarter of the present town; its western boundary was the hill range east of Salisbury village, *Wetauwanchu* "Wetaug mountain," and today in speech, though not on the maps, commonly shortened to Wetauk Mountain. Older maps show a Wetaug hamlet over two miles south of the Massachusetts line, but the G.S. 1884-95 map puts it almost on the line. The only survival of the name on the current G.S. map is Wetaug Road, which follows the west bank of the Housatonic from near Falls Village some eight miles north to Massachusetts.

The fact that 'Wetaug' is in good standing as a New England place-name of Indian origin lends considerable credence to the Ackerman claim concerning the origin of our own Wetaug. The Illinois Central Railroad was completed in September, 1856; and on December 6, 1856, the Wetaug post office was established. The date of the opening of the post office called Wetaug thus falls within the active period of the division superintendent George Watson, whom Ackerman credits with naming Wetaug from New England sources.

From a purely factual point of view, the Ackerman explanation has much to recommend it. However, it seems to be practically unknown among local people. Ask almost any native of the area about the origin of the name and he more or less automatically repeats the story of Chief Wetaug. Sentiment favors the 'Chief Wetaug' explanation. Through wide popular acceptance, the legend of Chief Wetaug has supplanted Mr. Ackerman's original factual explanation of how *Wetaug* got its name.

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Book Reviews

Die germanischen Runennamen, by Karl Schneider. Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain K.G., 1956; xii, 636 pp.; 48 illustrations and 7 tables; no price given.

This meaty book has for subtitle "Ein Beitrag zur idg./germ. Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte." The author in his foreword tells us that the investigation "im Juli 1949 im Manuskript abgeschlossen wurde" and from p. iv we learn that it was printed as a *Habilitationsschrift* at the instance of the University of Marburg and with support from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The book falls into three parts: A. Der Weg (pp. 3-49); B. Die Deutung (pp. 51-435); and C. Ergebnisse (pp. 437-92). There follows an appendix of 82 pages, devoted to "Begriffsrunen"; that is, to runes that stand for their names, much as we write *h-bone* for *aitch-bone*. Runes so used are found both in inscriptions and in literary works, and the author takes up here, among other things, the runic signatures of the English poet Cynewulf and the runic passage in an English poem about Solomon and Saturn. The volume ends with an 8-page bibliography, 44 pages of notes, an 11-page Register, and the seven tables.

Dr. Schneider (now Professor of English in the University of Münster) has written a revolutionary work, full of controversial matter. Throughout he shows himself one who is at home in his subject and knows his way about in the various disciplines involved: not only runology proper but also onomastics, folklore, comparative mythology, and comparative Indo-European linguistics and philology. He rightly reckons the runes a product that reflects Germanic culture as a whole and he takes the consequences of his stand by bringing all aspects of this culture to bear on the problem he sets for himself, that of interpreting the names of the runes. These names have come down to us chiefly in English and Scandinavian sources, but German and even Irish documents also shed light on the subject. Our most important sources of information are five in number: a list of the Gothic letter-names (nearly all originally runic), and four runic poems, one English and three of

Scandinavian origin. The verses, unlike the other sources, give us more than the bare names of the runes and make possible the interpretations set out in Schneider's book.

The author's conclusions may be summed up as follows. Of the names for the 24 original (common Germanic) runes, five reflect features of economic and social life (land, flocks and herds, crops, kindred, and hospitality); two reflect burial customs (cremation and ship-burial); three, sun and fire cults; six cosmogonic beliefs and myths; and eight, the Germanic pantheon, including Fate and the Valkyrs. In Anglo-Frisian territory the original 24 runes were increased in number to 33, in two (or three) stages. Of the names for these additional runes the author interprets six with confidence: No. 29, *ear*, reflects inhumation; Nos. 25–28, *ac*, *æsc*, *yr*, and *ior*, reflect cosmogonic belief and myth; and No. 30, *cweorð*, reflects the fire cult. Three names remain, *calc*, *stan*, and *gar*, but for want of verses or other clues "läßt sich . . . nichts Sicheres feststellen" (p. 439) about them, though a few suggestions are offered for what they may be worth. I will comment briefly on those conclusions that seem to me most dubious.

The 8th rune, phonetically [w], has *wynn* for name in Old English. It was added to the English form of the Roman alphabet as a supplementary letter and its occurrences in this function outnumber its occurrences as a rune by at least 100,000 to 1. The letters of the alphabet took masculine gender in Old English and this gender might reasonably be expected to carry over to the rare cases, in an alphabetic text, where the symbol for [w] had the function of a rune. One such case occurs (in *Christ*, line 804) and is commonly explained as indicated above. But Schneider takes the masculine gender here as evidence that a masculine noun *wynn* 'Sippenangehöriger, Gesippe' existed in Old English. He goes on to contend that the feminine abstract noun *wynn* 'joy, delight, pleasure' is not the right word in phrases like *weroda wynn*, where *wynn* serves as an agent noun, and he takes *wynn* here to be a masculine noun, meaning 'Sippenhaupt' or 'Sippenahn.' But the use of *wynn* 'delight' in the concrete sense 'giver of delight' is parallel to that of *mund* 'protection' in the sense 'giver of protection, protector.' Compare also *hleo* and *helm*, both of which may mean 'protector' as well as 'protection.' The usual translation of *weroda wynn* as 'the joy of the

hosts' (i.e. the giver of joy to the hosts; i.e. God) makes excellent sense and befits the style of the old poets. If the masculine names *Sigewyn* and *Eadwynn* that Schneider found in Searle's *Onomasticon* are actually names in *-wynn* (rather than *-wine*) they constitute proof of the existence of a masculine noun *wynn*, but Searle's name-forms are not dependable. The name of the 8th rune can be connected, etymologically, with the Irish fem. noun *fine* 'family, tribe' (see Schneider, p. 63), but we have no evidence that this was its meaning in English or even in Germanic. Schneider's explanation of the name may be right, but it remains a hypothesis only, based on etymology rather than on the meaning of *wynn* in its actual occurrences.

The fifth rune was called *rad* in Old English, *reið* or *ræið* in Old Norse. In the Icelandic and Norwegian runic poems the name may mean either 'riding' or 'vehicle,' as Schneider duly points out, but in the English poem, despite Schneider's arguments, it clearly means 'riding.' Here is the passage, with my translation:

Rad byþ on recyde rinca gehwylcum
sefte, and swiphwæt ðam ðe sitteþ on ufan
meare mægenheardum ofer milpapas

'Riding is pleasant for every man in the bedroom (i.e. with a woman for mount), and very strenuous for him who sits on top of a powerful, spirited stallion over mile-paths (i.e. on long journeys).'

Since both *reced* and *bur* gloss Latin *triclinium*, presumably *reced*, like *bur*, is applicable to a room equipped with beds or couches, and this sense obviously befits the context here, where the two kinds of riding are sharply contrasted. Schneider too takes *rad* to have a double meaning in these verses: 'flute' for the first, 'carriage, chariot' for the second part of the passage. But neither of these meanings is elsewhere recorded for *rad* in English and it seems more reasonable to take the word in its usual sense of 'riding,' a sense supported by the other runic poems. Oddly enough, Schneider translates *meare* 'stallion' as if it were *mere* 'mare,' though he points out, on the same page, that the word is masculine. He does Dickens an injustice when he attributes to him (p. 122) rather than to Chadwick another double sense for *rad*: 'furniture' in the first, 'harness' in the second part of the passage. Dickens mentions this interpretation, it is true, but rightly rejects it in favour of 'riding.'

The 10th rune was called *nyd* or *nead* in Old English, *naud(r)* in Old Norse. The late Gothic name for the letter *n* has come down to us in the form *noicz*, which is regularly put back into classical Gothic as *naup̃s*. The *o* of *noicz* of course stands for the (early) smoothed allophone of *au*, but how are we to explain the *i*? Schneider dismisses it (p. 22) as a "Gleitlaut ... der bei der Artikulation der Lautgruppe -ōp- unvermeidbar auftritt," but this explanation will hardly do. It seems more likely that the *i* marks a fronted pronunciation of the earlier back vowel, the same sound-change that we find in Danish and Swedish, whence the modern *nød* and *nöd*.

All these name-forms answer to modern English *need*, modern German *Not*. But Schneider holds that the meaning of this word does not fit the passage devoted to the 10th rune in the English poem. He goes so far as to say, "wollte man *nȳd* durch 'Not' übersetzen, so würde die Strophe keinerlei Sinn ergeben" (p. 136). Here we part company. To me the strophe makes perfectly good sense as it stands: the poet is saying, in effect, that necessity is the mother of invention, though in his case invention means finding the way to God. Dickins' translation brings this out well enough:

Trouble is oppressive to the heart; yet often it proves a source of help and salvation to the children of men, to everyone who heeds it betimes. By the etymological route Schneider constructs a proto-Germanic masculine noun *naup̃iz* or *naudis* with the meanings 'Reiber' (generic), 'Feuerbohrer' (specific), and from this he derives a feminine of the same form, with the meanings 'Drangsal, Not, Zwang, Schwierigkeit' recorded for English *nyd* and its cognates. His etymology may well be right, but when he gives to the *nyd* of our passage the sense 'Reiber' he throws darkness rather than light on the verses and must emend *breostan* 'breasts' (dat. pl.) to *breodan* 'boards' to get the meaning he has in mind.

The corresponding verses in the Icelandic runic poem read:

nauð er þýjar þrá
ok þungr kostur
ok vássamlig verk

'Distress is a bondwoman's contrariness (or obstinacy) and [it is] hard terms (or conditions) and [it is] fatiguing work in the wet.' [i.e. Any one of these three things is enough to get a person down, put him into a state of distress.]

In this translation of mine I take *þrá* to be the neuter noun meaning 'stubbornness.' Schneider takes it to be the feminine noun, with the sense 'longing, yearning,' and he translates the verses thus: 'Der Reiber (Feuerbohrer) ist der Mägede Sehnsucht und schwere Mühe und mühselige Arbeit.' This translation involves taking *naud* in two senses, as Schneider points out (p. 140): in the first line it has the "Symbolbedeutung von membrum virile"; in the other two lines, the literal sense of 'firestick,' with reference to the great physical exertions required in making fire with such a stick. Whatever the etymology of *naud*, in the Icelandic poem it means 'distress,' in my opinion, not 'firestick' whether literally or symbolically. We may feel sure of this for the simple reason that 'need, distress' is its regular meaning in Icelandic and the meaning 'firestick' is otherwise unknown.

The 22d rune, with Ing for name, is one of the many runes not taken up in the Scandinavian poems. I translate as follows what the English poet has to say:

Ing was first seen by men among the East Danes, until later he went over the waves eastwards; the wain ran behind; thus the Hardings named that hero.

This passage has often, and rightly, been linked with the famous description of the Nerthus cult in the *Germania* of Tacitus (cap. 40). I discussed the matter years ago in my *Literary History of Hamlet* (see also my paper in *Namn och Bygd* 22. 26–51) and will not go into it again here. It will be enough to say that the witness of *Beowulf*, where the Danes are twice called Ingwine (i.e. friends of Ing), does not agree with Schneider's conclusion (p. 369) that the Ing-Nerthus cult must have died out "zwischen 100 und 450 n. Chr. . . . im jütischen-dänischen Raum." Schneider would have done well to take into account E. Björkman's discussion of the name Ingwine in his *Studien über die Eigennamen im Beowulf*, p. 80. This monograph would have been worth referring to for other names, as *Fróði* (Schneider, p. 256).

I add a few miscellaneous comments on matters of detail. The reading *consultatur* (p. 44) for the *consuletur* of the mss in the quotation from Tacitus' *Germania* is questionable; Robinson in his critical text reads *consuliter*. In a later quotation from this work (p. 253), *conditoremque* should be *conditoresque*, with a comma before it, not after it; see Robinson's note on the passage. The removal

from the Tacitean text of two name-forms and their replacement by Pliny's forms (p. 253) is duly signalized in footnotes but departs from orthodox scholarly practice in quoting and shocks pedants like me. Line 63 of the English runic poem reads

Lagu byp leodum langsum gepuht,

and Schneider translates it 'Das Meer ist den Fürsten beständiger Gedanke' (p. 85). This will hardly do, and Toller's 'wearisome' for *langsum* here can't be right either. My rendering is 'The sea seems long-lasting (i.e. never-ending) to men.' We have here the rhetorical figure of understatement, a favorite with the old poets. Schneider identifies the *laga-* of *lagastafr* 'sea' with the gen. sg. *lagar* of *lögr* 'liquid' without explaining the loss of the *r* (p. 88). Was it a case of dissimilation? In the discussion of OE *þrea* etc. (p. 132) a reference to Willy Krogmann's paper in *Anglia* 58. 445f. would have been helpful. OE *hagan* glosses Latin *signalia* but not *genitalia* (p. 161), so far as I know. OE *ræda* (p. 572), if a genuine word, was an n-stem and would not lose its final *-a* in composition; its relation to *-ræd* would be an inflectional matter, *ræda* taking weak, *-ræd* strong inflection. The relation of the name-element *-mēr* to the adj. *mēre* 'famous' was also inflectional, *-mēr* being an u-stem, *mēre* a ja-stem. As to *-rīc* vs. *rīce*, the name-element is identical with Gothic *reiks* 'ruler,' with strong inflection; a corresponding noun with weak inflection existed in Old English: *rīca* 'ruler.' The adj. *rīce* 'powerful' is a ja-stem derivative of the noun. I note misprints on pp. 41, 70, 105, 122, 196, 251, and 259.

Most of this review (as of most reviews) has been given over to matters of disagreement, but I do not wish to make an end without expressing my admiration of the author and his book. He has given us a carefully reasoned and systematically arranged body of hypotheses backed by evidence drawn from all quarters of the Indo-European world. His learning is prodigious, his talent for putting two and two together astonishing, his structural achievement impressive. So much of what he says is convincing that one wishes one could agree with him throughout. In his foreword he tells us he wishes his book to be judged "als ein erster Versuch, . . . Probleme sowohl der Runologie als auch der idg./germ. Religionsgeschichte in neuer Beleuchtung aufzuzeigen und dadurch auf beiden Gebieten zur Weiterbeschäftigung mit ihnen anzuregen." As

such, the book is eminently successful. It marks a major turning-point in runologic and cosmogonic science and all workers in the field will have to reckon with it henceforth. Author and publishers are to be congratulated on a significant accomplishment.

Johns Hopkins University

Kemp Malone

P. H. Reaney: *The Origin of English Place Names*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960. x, 277 pp. 32 s.

In his Preface the author tells us that "the purpose of this book is first to give the general reader an indication of the way in which explanations of place-names are arrived at, and secondly to give him some idea of the general results already achieved." In other words, the book was written for the general public, not for the professional onomatist, and must be judged accordingly. Dr. Reaney is himself very much the professional. He has done significant work in both branches of onomastics: place-names and personal names. The impulse (or irritant) that drove him to write this work of popularization seems to have been the attacks made by ignoramuses on experts in this field and the preference of the attackers for fanciful etymologies in spite of the evidence duly marshalled and weighed by the specialists. His introductory chapter gives us a few samples of such controversies. By pointing out in detail how wrong the ignorant amateurs were in these cases and by making clear the methodology of the scientifically trained investigators, he hopes to persuade the public to put its trust in the latter. In his second chapter he sets forth the methods proper to place-name study and in succeeding chapters he takes up "dialect and place-names," "personal names and place-names," "the Celtic element," "the English element" (by far the longest chapter), "the Scandinavian element," "the French element," "Latin influence," "field-names," and "street-names." The book ends with a list of writings "for further reading," an index of subjects, and an index of place-names.

The author has written a useful work, for those willing to take the time and make the effort to read it with care, but he does not succeed throughout in making things clear for the novice, who will

sometimes be left puzzled or dissatisfied after reading Dr. Reaney's explanation of a given place-name. Often the difficulty comes from a familiar weakness of experts when they address laymen: they fail to explain much that bothers their audience because to them much seems obvious (and therefore not in need of explanation) which is anything but obvious to others. Thus, Dr. Reaney is content to explain *Singlesole* as meaning 'Singull's wood' (p. 181), without telling the reader that in early records the second part of the name had the form *-holt*, a word for 'wood' still recorded in desk dictionaries though now seldom heard. In the absence of such an explanation, the ordinary reader might well think there was an old word *ole* in English with the meaning 'wood.' But the possibility of such a misinterpretation of the gloss 'Singull's wood' evidently did not occur to Dr. Reaney.

Now and then (though not often) a professional onomatist may find himself in disagreement with the author. Thus, I find it hard to believe that the Normans 'had a difficulty in pronouncing names beginning with *Gr-*' (p. 26). Since initial *gr-* is common in French, the tongue native to the Norman conquerors of England, one may reasonably be skeptical of this explanation of the fact that some English place-names headed by *gr-* came to have forms with *cr-* or simple *c-* [k]. The stock example of this change is *Cambridge*, which is recorded as *Grantebricge* in 1050 but as early as 1086 appears also in the form *Cantebrigie*, showing [k] for the [gr] of the older form. Here the loss of [r] by dissimilation is easy to explain. But why was this loss accompanied by the change of [g] to [k]? Unluckily we know little about the local dialect of English in those days, but it seems possible that in this dialect at that time an initial *g* before a vowel still had its old fricative value, whereas before a consonant it had become a stop. If so, the stop, when by loss of the following *r* it came to stand before a vowel, would be a unicum and would have to undergo modification to fit into the sound-system characteristic of the dialect. The evidence of the records shows that it kept its stoppage but lost its voicing; hence the form of the name beginning with *ca-*. The alternative, in which *g* would keep its voicing but lose its stoppage, would give a spelling *ga-* which does not appear in the records even once. About a century and a half later we get a form headed by *cr-*, but this occurs only once and is to be explained as a blend of the rival forms *gr-* and *c-*.

On pp. 6f. the author tells us that the Latin documents of Middle English times were written "chiefly by clerks whose native language was French. . . . They knew little or no English. . . ." Such documents exist, of course, notably the Domesday Book. But that most Latin documents of the period were written by such clerks is inherently so unlikely that one can only ask the author to prove his statement; I feel pretty confident that this proof will not be forthcoming.

A few miscellaneous slips may be worth noting: (p. 15 footnote) OE *hramsa* means 'wild garlic,' not 'wild garlic island'; (p. 72) it will hardly do to say that it is a French form of the river-name *Thames* that has survived in English, since the spoken form owes nothing to French; (p. 151) *Hardwick* means 'herd farm,' not 'sheep farm'; (p. 159) ME *butte* 'strip of land' is to be connected with OE *buttuc* in the same or a like sense; (p. 173) *throp* for *thorp* is not a safe mark of English (as against Danish) origin. I have noted misprints only on pp. 4 and 22.

Kemp Malone

Johns Hopkins University

Ray O. Hummel, Jr.: *A List of Places Included in 19th Century Virginia Directories*. The Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia, 1960. 154 pp.

A more accurate, though longer, title of this book would be "A list of Virginia places as they are first mentioned in 19th- and 20th-century Virginia directories." The printed title does not say that 20th-century directories sometimes had to be used; nor does the title say that the directories used and listed are only those that give first mention of the places listed. These modifications we learn in the introduction. The present publication is the first of its sort; it rose to fill a need; and to gather and edit the material for it the editor stayed within the very specific limits set down.

The book has both primary and secondary value. Its primary value is to help historians, lawyers, antiquarians, genealogists, and others to find where certain places — those in the list — are or were; and — what is most important of all — to help them find by these means where an ancestor, a relative, or other person lived. Where is

Harmony Village or *Red House*, and in what directory were they first mentioned? Where now are the places once known as *Basic City*, *Big Lick*, and *Central City*? Virginia librarians, recognizing the need to help people with problems calling for the finding of places such as these, were the ones who set in motion the study behind the book.

Its secondary value is that it gives material for the study of place-names according to patterns: English, Scotch, Latin, Spanish, and German names; names in *-ton* and *-burg*, *-ville*, etc.; oddities like *Bird's Nest*, *Negro Foot* and *Need More*; etc.

This book, containing over 4000 names, is one of the three most important lists of Virginia place-names. The other two are Joseph Martin's *New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia*, Charlottesville, 1836, containing over 1000 names; and Henry Gannett's *A Gazetteer of Virginia*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904 (Department of the Interior, U.S. Geological Survey. Bulletin no. 232. Series F, Geography, 40), containing over 5000 names, mostly of post offices, but also of fords, swamps, runs, gaps, etc.

The present book by definition does not list place-names mentioned in manuscript matter or on maps or in any other source than directories. When and if finally a list of all Virginia place-names that are or have been comes into being, the present study will be a necessary part of it. The book has been carefully prepared, is printed on a new "stable and enduring text paper," and has full bibliographical apparatus.

Atcheson L. Hench

University of Virginia

Our Names: Where They Came From and What They Mean. By Eloise Lambert and Mario Pei. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Inc. 1960. Pp. 192. \$3.00.

The Book of Place-Names. By Eloise Lambert and Mario Pei. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Inc. 1959. Pp. 178. \$3.00.

Both of these books are apparently designed primarily for the high-school level, perhaps as auxiliary reading for English or social-studies courses. Both are simply and colloquially written, with a

notable emphasis upon the curious and amusing; and both might serve (if both were equally well written) to lead the student or the adult lay reader on to a more thorough and more serious study of names.

Of the two books, *Our Names* is considerably the better. Divided logically into three main sections (First Names, Family Names, and Thing Names), it starts with "How Naming Began" and goes on through chapters on mythological, classical, and Biblical names, not omitting the customary section on unusual personal names. Part two deals with how family names began — names derived from fathers, dwelling-places, trades, and so on. This section includes a chapter on extra-long and extra-short names, as well as those names which seem to us comic by suggestion (e.g., Willie May Hatch, Ben Dover) as well as those deliberately contrived by entertainers and comic-strip artists. The section on Thing Names — chapters include "From Name to Thing," "From Name to Quality," "National Group Names" — should be particularly helpful to the beginning student of nomenclature.

This book is much more smoothly organized and written than its companion volume and is less frequently marked by curious errors or failures to inform. However, the student who reads only English might reasonably be confused at finding the suffix *-accio* (as for Boccaccio, p. 23) translated as "ugly big" and the same suffix (for Masaccio, p. 55) translated as "bad" — especially as we know Masaccio, *via* Browning from Vasari, as "Hulking Tom." The suffix may well have *both* meanings; but the student needs to be told. The authors also have a curious and baffling use of the word *even*; e.g., "Italians, even when not of the Jewish faith, often bear names of Italian cities" (p. 84). (Cf. "There is even a St. Louis in French West Africa" — *Place-Names*, pp. 147—8.) A certain carelessness of phrasing might also mislead the student. "English city names, like Birmingham and Norfolk, are often borne by English speakers" (p. 84). (There is no *English* city of Norfolk.) "We also have a personification of hurricanes that is very similar to the practice of the ancients; the Weather Bureau gives them girls' names like Diane and Carol" (p. 133). There is no real relationship between personification and an arbitrary naming device; we might as well argue that any Company A is composed of exceptionally *Able* men.

There is little excuse for referring to Molotov the statesman (p. 90) and only a few pages away to the Molotoff cocktail (p. 131), a makeshift grenade named for him. Further, the student might better be told that Molotov, in this instance, is not a true patronymic but a "revolutionary" name deliberately adopted. The personification of Uncle Sam was not known at an earlier period as "Uncle Jonathan" (p. 120), but as Brother Jonathan. And the name of the Burmese statesman U Nu is not "one of the shortest first and second name combinations on record" (p. 106). In Burmese, *U* is a mere honorific, like *Pandit* in India, and is no part of the person's actual name.

These slips, however, are not numerous enough to count seriously against the value of the work, which is, on the whole, well organized, clear, instructive, and entertaining.

*

Of *The Book of Place-Names*, however, it is perhaps almost unfair to speak in the same review. The idea and aim, like those of *Our Names*, are excellent; but the execution is, to put it mildly, uneven. The chapters are not well organized, and material from one is often repeated in another. The style is rather too colloquial and is too often marked by a kind of coy humor which might well enliven a class discussion but which hardly deserves the dignity of hard covers. There is much obviously sound information, but this gets so entangled in error and careless statement that one inevitably wonders about the quality and amount of research behind the entire work. The kindest thing one can say is that perhaps somehow some undigested lecture notes might have got mixed in with an otherwise finished manuscript.

The types of error which mark this work illustrate so well the kind of traps the amateur student of names finds awaiting him that it may be useful to examine some (by no means all) of them.

First, misspellings. These can happen, if only by printer's errors, to anyone; but this kind of book is precisely where they should be most carefully sought out. Examples: *Snowdun* (for *Snowdon* — which is, by the way, in Wales, not England); *Stony City*, Iowa (for *Stone City*); *Wolfboro*, N. H. (for *Wolfeboro*); *Gallina*, N. M. (for *Gallinas*); *Drakensburg Mts.* (for *Drakensberg*); and *Bartholomew Grosnold* (for *Gosnold*).

Second, careless statements. On p. 17 the name of the Jungfrau is translated as "maiden" (which may be a tactful substitute for "virgin" in a book directed toward

adolescents); on p. 81, the same name is translated as "young woman," which may or may not be a good synonym. "Pike's Peak, named after Zebulon Pike, who first ascended it" (p. 18). But Lt. Pike, at his first glimpse, solemnly announced that *there* was a mountain that would never be climbed by mortal man; and the mountain had to wait another thirteen years for a white man's foot on its summit. After discussing color names for seas (Red, Black), they come to this: "For the Yellow Sea, there is some doubt, but the best theory seems to be that it draws its name from the yellow-skinned people who live around it" (p. 21). Shades of the nineteenth-century subscription-book one-volume encyclopedias! A glance at a map should have revealed the Yellow River (*why* it is called the Yellow River, daddy?), and the handiest reference book, however small, might have said something about fifteen billion cubic yards of silt per year being dumped into a small and very shallow sea. "Louisiana, named after Louis of France" (p. 30). Which one of all that horde of Louis? The reader is left gasping in wild surmise when he is told that the mental processes behind place-naming are always the same, "whether the group is a tribe of American Redskins or a clan of blond, blue-eyed Celtic wanderers" (p. 32).

Among various possible sources of the name Manhattan, one is "place of dangerous currents," which "would probably refer to Hell Gate in the East River, where in the past so many swimmers drowned" (p. 46). Now that is a dangerous *probably*. Miss Lambert, who lived in New York City for seventeen years, and Professor Pei, who has lived there even longer, can hardly have been unaware of two basic facts. First, Hell Gate got its bad name as a menace to shipping, not to swimmers; and secondly, if the Indians thought of Manhattan as a place of dangerous currents, they meant Spuyten Duyvil Creek, the Harlem River, *and* the East River, all of which are almost as tricky now as they were then, in spite of engineers and dynamite. "It is claimed [by whom?] that not only Brooklyn, N. Y., but also Brookline, Mass., stem from the Dutch city of Breuckelen" (p. 48; repeated on p. 145). Considering the different heritage of the Dutch and the Puritans, the marked difference in spelling and pronunciation, and the fact that Brookline, until it became an independent town in 1705, was known by the less pleasing name of Muddy River Hamlet, one can say only that a claim (anonymous) hardly constitutes a fact. "Names of industrial products are not too numerous, but there is a Rayón in Mexico" (p. 95). One standard gazetteer lists not one, but four, Rayóns in Mexico, all apparently antedating the recent invention of the synthetic fiber; and a Spanish dictionary suggests quite other reasons for the names. On Fujiyama "the Japanese bestow another poetic name . . . calling it Fujisan, or 'Lady Fuji'" (p. 102). *San* means "honored" or "honorable," and in reference to this mountain, "sacred," but *not* "lady."

Third, lack of differentiation between naming for people and naming for things. "When it comes to honoring groups, the palm is probably held by Kentucky, which has a town simply named Peoples" (p. 81). But this happens to be, in the South, a fairly common family name, best known as that of the founder of a Southeastern drugstore chain. Included among places named for vegetables is Pease, Minn. As in the United States this name for the vegetable is virtually obsolete, this would seem rather a family name. Among "names of joy and sorrow" we find Loveland, Colo. — definitely named for a person. Among "names denoting friendliness" appears

Friend, Nebr. — actually names for Charles E. Friend, its first storekeeper and postmaster. Among poetic names from Indian languages is Red Cloud, Nebr. — named not for a pretty meteorological phenomenon, however, but for the last warrior-chief of the Teton-Sioux Indians. Although included among “slangy” names, Looneyville, W. Va., seems more likely to be named for a person, especially as in near-by Virginia there is a place called Looney’s Creek, definitely with a possessive. Again, Larned, Kansas, is less likely to be slang for a town full of eggheads than a family name.

The chapter called “Names of Fun” asserts that “there is no question that California’s Igo and Ono were meant to be funny” (p. 137). But there is; Gudde (*California Place Names*) concedes Igo but points out that Ono is a Biblical name which occurs in widely scattered places in the United States. You will therefore not be surprised to learn that there is no such town in New York as *OhNoville* (p. 137); there is an *Onoville*, precisely where the authors placed their Hobson-Jobson-spelled town — near Allegany (not *Allegheny*, their spelling) State Park. As there is also an Ono not too far away in Pennsylvania, it seems fair to assume that the settlers merely knew their Bible. Among the “humorous” names we find “a Barnstable in Maine.” Map-searching has so far produced no Barnstable in Maine — but there is one on Cape Cod (which would indicate garbled note-taking or note-reading somewhere?). This was named not in jest for a horse-barn but for a place of ancestral associations, *Barnstaple*, England. Crime is said to be humorously suggested by Minnesota’s Crookston; but this was named for Col. William Crooks, chief engineer of the first railroad in that neighborhood. The humor gets rather specially unfunny when we come to “even a political tinge in North Carolina’s Allreds, whose inhabitants are all loyal Americans despite the name” (p. 138). Allred, like Peoples, happens to be a perfectly good family name, whose bearers were perhaps in that countryside long before “red” came to have its twentieth-century tinge of disrepute. “Tell City, Ky.” (p. 136) was indeed named for William Tell — but it happens to be in Indiana.

Fourth, a superficial approach. This might be quite satisfactory for the high-school “unit” for which the book apparently was designed (or out of which it may have sprung); but it seems out of place in even a semi-scholarly book in hard covers. In the chapter on “Animal Names,” “A cursory glance at a map reveals at least eight places in which Beaver appears.” A cursory glance into the Railway Guide reveals (with variants, which the authors sometimes include and sometimes ignore) a total of 30. “There are five Buffalos.” The Railway Guide, without variants, lists 16. “. . . Six variants of Deer.” The Railway Guide lists 50. “Five Elks.” The Railway Guide lists 54. And so on, right down the line. The cursory glance is not enough. It is, of course, not possible at all to tell what places are named for animals and which are named for people with animal names (Fox, Beaver, etc.); but it is certain that what the authors spell, as noted above, *Wolfboro*, and list among places named for animals, was definitely named for General Wolfe.

At this point I defy Macbeth’s injunction and readily cry “Enough!” There are, unfortunately, many more things of the same sort, and of other sorts. I press these matters at such length for two reasons only. First, the hazards of folk-etymology, Hobson-

Jobsonism, and hasty generalization are all too common anyway, even among those of us who hope we know better; and it is nothing less than a crime, or a sin, or both, to put such glaring instances into hard covers to mislead even one generation of students. And secondly, it is hard to conceive how either Professor Pei or the publishers could permit such a shallow and poorly edited volume to become in 1959 a part of the literary monument of Miss Lambert (who died in 1958), whose other major work, as I pointed out above, is really an excellent book for the task it sets for itself. Re-edited and reissued, *The Book of Place Names* could still become a good book in its own right; as it stands, however, so much bad is so hopelessly intermixed with the good that it cannot be recommended.

Wilbur G. Gaffney

Grand Canyon Place Names. By Byrd H. Granger, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1960. 26 pp. \$.75.

An eighth wonder would have been added to the original Seven Wonders of the World if the ancients had ever inspected the Grand Canyon of Arizona. But the only things man-made about this later discovery are the place names. Now Byrd Granger has published a paper-bound booklet containing this section from her *Arizona Place Names*. A brief historical statement and two maps introduce the landmarks and their names, which range from descriptive commemoratives like Brahma's Temple and Thor's Hammer to literary commemoratives such as the cluster from the story of King Arthur: Bedivere Point, Gawain's Abyss, Guenevere's Castle and Excalibur Ridge. The first Spaniard to see the canyon is remembered in Cardenas Butte, for Garcia Lopez de Cardenas who came with Coronado to the Southwest in 1540. However the first Anglo-American to give a report of the great gorge seems to have been overlooked. That was Lt. Amiel W. Whipple on an expedition in 1854. Descriptive names, like Alligator Ridge, and names of fantasy, like Bright Angel Creek or Elves Chasm, excite the imagination and identify the objects. *Arizona Place Names* as presented by Miss Granger is well represented in this attractive sampling.

T. M. Pearce

The University of New Mexico

Notes and Queries

During 1960, when news in the United States was often dominated by the presidential election and the activities surrounding it, names, both personal and topographic, came in for their share of publicity. The nominations were scarcely over when the papers found themselves in a quandary over whether the location of the Kennedy summer home on Cape Cod should be written *Hyannis Port* or *Hyannisport*. The subsequent official resolution — in favor of the two-word form — may have come as a surprise to those who were unaware of the abiding concern of the United States government with the names of the land. After the Board of Geographic Names had clarified the matter, most publications which had previously split their usages or written the name solid dutifully switched to *Hyannis Port*; at least one exception is the Springfield, Massachusetts *Union*, a paper that has shown vigorous independence on certain other issues, which goes right on writing *Hyannisport*.

The question of whether or not there will be any significance in the decisions of the nation's papers and periodicals on which spelling to use might be amusing. *Names* readers are invited to submit their tallies and observations to this column where a non-partisan report may then appear.

Another sortie along similar lines might be a survey of press reactions, both editorial and practical, to the new president's request that headline writers who are hard up for space refrain from calling him "Jack" and write JFK instead. *Mr. K.*, since it has already been widely used for Khrushchev, would be confusing to say the least; plain *K*, also used for Khrushchev, was, in addition, the name by which his fellow students at Harvard called the present Aga Khan. Mr. Eisenhower's apparent willingness to be "Ike" solved the problem of what to do with a ten-letter name in a headline; Mr. Kennedy's proposed solution is shorter than the "Jack" which he dislikes, but it remains to be seen whether all the papers will accede to his request. In the jargon of the election analysts themselves, it is presumably still too early to discern a trend, but it would seem that some of the papers which have conscientiously

made the switch to JFK are still referring to Mrs. Kennedy as "Jackie." Perhaps some *Names* reader with a flair for history as well as onomastics might offer us a report on the names and nicknames of White House tenants over the years?

* * *

The press is, of course, free to make its own choices; the official forms, to be used in government publications and generally adopted elsewhere, are established by the United States Board of Geographic Names. The BGN has representatives from eleven different government agencies, but operates as a part of the Office of Geography, whose director is A.N.S. Past President Meredith F. Burrill. In addition to settling questions of the *Hyannis Port/Hyannisport* variety, the Board, which is ultimately part of the Department of the Interior, also standardizes forms and orthography for domestic and foreign toponyms.

Some of the Board's problems in the transcription and transliteration of foreign toponyms, and the manner in which these problems are approached and solved by professional linguists, are described in an article "Linguists Police Place Name Spelling" by Raleigh Morgan, jr. in the October, 1960 issue of the *Linguistic Reporter*. (The *Linguistic Reporter* may be of interest to some readers of *Names*. It is published bi-monthly by the Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America, and is available without charge by writing to Miss Nora M. Walker at the Center's headquarters, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.)

* * *

Though individuals may have firm opinions and preferences on the use or non-use of their nicknames, the era of the Chamber of Commerce has made a good nickname virtually a *sine qua non* of success for an American city. Last spring, Norwalk, Connecticut set about to find a replacement for *Clamtown* (*New York Times*, July 26, 1960) or *Clam Town* (*ibid.*, September 15, 1960!) which Mayor John Shostak had declared was neither accurate nor complimentary. As the summer wore on, the suggestions poured in. Toward the end of July, a committee which the Mayor had appointed to help in the sifting and winnowing process announced

nine names which would be put up for consideration of the town's voters: *Marina City*, *Boating City*, *Scenic Seashore City*, *City of Resources*, *City of Promise*, *Commercial Center City*, *City of Diversity*, *Old Well*, and *Friendly City*. And the winner? Why, *Clam Town* (or *Clamtown*), of course, the easy victor in a campaign deftly managed by traditionalists who pointed out not only a valid historical basis for the name, but the added value of its individualistic nature.

* * *

From the University of South Carolina, Department of English, comes *Names in South Carolina*, volume VII, edited by Professor Claude H. Neuffer. The twenty mimeographed pages of the winter, 1960 issue contain a variety of notes and articles by several contributors as well as requests for information about certain South Carolina place names. *Names* is much interested in such publications, and would welcome news of any others.

Audrey R. Duckert

Necrology

Sever Pop

On February 17, 1961, Sever Pop died in Louvain, as the consequence of a brief but painful illness. Born in Poiana Ilvei Nasaud in Roumania on July 27, 1901, he had worked on the Roumanian Linguistic Atlas but after the war he went to Belgium, where he was active as Professor at the Catholic University.

Sever Pop had been an international scholarly figure of the first rank for the last ten years or so, due to his tremendous success in organizing a powerful group around himself (*Centre International de Dialectologie Générale*); he was able to publish the international journal *Orbis* (*International Bulletin of Linguistic Documentation*; nine volumes to 1960), an instrument promoting research in linguistics, to set up various other projects such as the *Encyclopédie linguistique*, and to organize the first international congress of general dialectology in Louvain and Brussels, August 21–27, 1960.

He was also interested in onomatology and was a member of the International Committee of Onomastic Sciences.

An orienting sketch about him is: Rodica D. Pop, *Sever Pop, Notice biographique et bibliographique*, Louvain, 1956 (10 pp.). However, an extensive biography and full bibliography will now be a demand of the scholarly world.

Sever Pop had published numerous works and studies, among which the following few may be mentioned: *La dialectologie, Aperçu historique et méthodes d'enquêtes linguistiques*, Louvain, 1950, 2 vols. (1400 pp., 77 plates); *Bibliographie des questionnaires linguistiques*, Louvain, 1955 (167 pp.); *Instituts de Phonétique et Archives phonographiques...*, Louvain, 1956; (with Rodica D. Pop) *Premier répertoire des Instituts et des Sociétés de linguistique du monde...*, Louvain, 1958 (294 pp.); (with Rodica D. Pop) *Atlas linguistiques européens. Première partie: Domaine roman. Répertoire systématique des cartes: A—B* (170 pp., 33 plates).

The scholarly world of linguists owes much to one of their great and best. Αἰωνία αὐτοῦ ἡ μνήμη!

Demetrius J. Georgacas

NAMES TENTH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

March-June issue 1962

The tenth anniversary issue of *Names* will appear in March 1962 and will be a combined issue for March and June 1962. For this issue charter members and other members of the American Name Society and onomatologist friends everywhere are invited to send in articles, which should be brief contributions to onomastics, by September 30, 1961.

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The Editor of *Names* addressed to each of the participants in the 7th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences at Florence, April 4-8, 1961, the following circular letter:

To the Participants

at the 7th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences
(Florence and Pisa, April 4-8, 1961)

As editor of the onomastic journal *NAMES* of the American Name Society and on behalf of its Editorial Board, I take pleasure in extending to the fellow-onomatologists of this Congress a standing invitation for scholarly contributions in onomatology to be published in *NAMES*. The pages of *NAMES* are open to international onomatological scholarship.

The occasion for this invitation is marked by the tenth anniversary of the American Name Society since its founding in December 1951 — and in this past decade the American Name Society has accumulated the strength, on the basis of present membership and subscribing institutions totaling around 700 all over the world, to continue its work centered upon one of the few onomastic journals in the world.

A TENTH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE will appear in March 1962, in which papers of members and friends of the American Name Society will be published. The deadline for sending in papers to the editor's address below for the Tenth Anniversary Issue is September 30, 1961. For contributions at other times there is no deadline.

Anyone interested in joining the American Name Society as a member is certainly most welcome to do so. I shall be most happy to give more information to any friends.

Present address: 2 Vendiri Street
FILOTHEI, ATHENS
Greece

Demetrius J. Georgacas
Editor of *NAMES*

ANS ANNUAL MEETING IN CHICAGO

December 29—30, 1961

The annual meeting of the American Name Society is scheduled to take place in Chicago, at the Palmer House, December 29, 1961, 7:30 p.m., and December 30, 9:00 a.m. and 3:30 p.m.

The dinner is planned for December 29, 6:00 p.m. Mr. Elsdon C. Smith is in charge of local arrangements.

Names and Roles of Characters in Science Fiction

ROBERT PLANK

THIS STUDY AIMS at the double goal of finding out more about science fiction and of testing the heuristic value of the onomastologic method in the process. Many elements of vagueness which are unavoidably inherent in the subject militate against undertaking a rigorous study right now — a deficiency that can only be converted into a virtue by attempting to make this report as light and appetizing as a proper hors d'œuvre. It is hoped that this will not be found inappropriate for a first survey of an area that so far has been scientifically rather fallow but may yet produce intellectual nourishment.

The literary genre to which we usually apply the term *science fiction* is primarily a recent American phenomenon. Though historically old, it grew vigorously into a mass medium only in recent decades and did not attract much public attention before World War II. Its development abroad has not matched its boom here. Especially in continental Western Europe science fiction is largely dominated by translations and imitations of American material. Our own writers have often delighted in being bizarre — the general reader in America expects to be introduced to a two-headed Martian answering to some name like Nrxi 257 — but, particularly since the sputniks arose, science fiction has acquired a certain respectability.

Magazines, rather than books, are the strength of science fiction. Critics have often graded these magazines along a continuum ranging from “highbrow” (such as *Analog* or *Galaxy*) to “lowbrow” (such as sundry short-lived magazines that have words like *super* or *fantastic* in their titles). Hardly different from the “lowbrow” in format and appearance, though to some extent in price, the “highbrow” magazines aim more at educated (particularly scientifically educated) readers; their ambition is to publish literature on a level with the best and most respected fiction.

The "lowbrow" magazines tend to use juvenile and "popular" reading material, and refrain from making high intellectual demands of their readers; they rather parallel the more flashy and sensational general magazines on the news stands. There seems to be a correlation between what we might call "brow rating" and staying power: the more highbrow a science fiction magazine is, the longer it tends to survive.

For a starting point, we may formulate the following hypotheses, leaving our specialized acquaintance with this field of literature aside for the moment and basing our formulation merely on general knowledge:

1. Characters playing different roles have different types of names. We are more likely, for instance, to encounter a hero with an English name and a villain who bears a Slavic name than vice-versa.

2. Changes in name fashion reflect changes in prevailing political and ideological outlook; for example, we may find increased frequency of names that are in harmony with such current trends as the decline of Isolationism or the "religious revival."

3. Less bizarre names are found in highbrow magazines than in lowbrow magazines, which cater to a different, less polished taste and may be more inclined to savor the exotic flavor of names like Baululaulu.

4. By the same token, as science fiction matures, names will become more conventional in the course of time. The difference in the naming of characters between science fiction and "mainstream literature" will be de-emphasized.

It is simple to test these hypotheses and accumulate information which also sheds some light on other peculiarities of science fiction.

Four magazine issues were selected to represent different "brow ratings" and points in time: *Astounding Science Fiction* (now also called *Analog*; in science fiction circles referred to as *ASF* and respected as the epitome of highbrowism), the issues of June 1959 and May 1949; *Super-Science Fiction* of August 1959; and *Startling Stories* of January 1949 -- the latter two to represent the lowbrow.

These four magazine issues contain among them 22 stories and a total of 112 named characters. "Stories" is here defined so as to exclude "novels," i.e., fiction of considerable length, especially

serials. "Characters" is defined to include any human or "humanoid" figure (not, e.g., pet dogs) appearing in any of these stories, not including real or fictitious historical persons (e.g., in such statements as "after the theory of relativity was proposed by Einstein in the 20th century and developed by Shogomuchi in the 21st . . .").

The names clearly and naturally fall into three categories which for the sake of convenience can be labeled as follows:

I. AS ("Anglo-Saxon") names.

II. Foreign names.

III. "Out-of-the-world names," i.e., names formed so as to give the reader the impression that they are not derived from any existing language.

The distinction is sarcastically illustrated by Nabokov who also presents a shrewd hypothesis on the assignment of certain names to characters having certain roles:

Invaders of Denebola and Spica, Virgo's finest, bear names beginning with Mac; cold scientists are usually found under names like Stein; some share with the super-galactic gals such abstract labels as Biola and Vala.¹

It is true that a few names are on the borderlines between our three categories. The fact that some characters are presented under nicknames or aliases further complicates the situation. It is, nevertheless, possible to classify into these categories all names occurring in these four issues, with a degree of certainty which suffices for our purpose.

The characters in the stories can equally clearly and naturally be grouped into several categories according to their roles:

a) Heroes (and heroines).

b) Villains (villainesses should be added for the sake of symmetry but hardly any occur in these stories).

c) Friends – helpers, subordinates, assistants, etc., of the hero (here again, a parallel category of villains' retainers is obviated by the fact that there are so few).

d) "Guardians" and their helpers – the term "guardian" being taken from T. S. Eliot's *Cocktail Party*, one of the most remarkable

¹ V. Nabokov, "Lance," *Stories from the New Yorker 1950 to 1960*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960, p. 9.

pieces of modern literature outside science fiction in which this category appears. A "guardian" is a character endowed with higher knowledge, wisdom, or power than the hero possesses, who, unbeknown to the hero (at least at first) guides the latter's adventures towards a lofty aim, usually to the hero's benefit.

e) Episodic figures, i.e., named characters whose role in the story is not significant enough to allow further categorization (e.g., the owner of a tavern where other characters meet; port personnel; or discovered natives).

The characters can of course also be classified by age, sex, occupation, race, and species (we must not forget that we are not always dealing with specimens of *homo sapiens*).

The essential findings of this study are tabulated below. In addition to our three types of names, the table contains a column labeled "unnamed," comprising these characters whose roles in the story are important but whose names are not given.

This table permits several observations:

A. Contrary to the expectation which an uninitiated reader may harbor, AS names are by far the largest category. Their frequency has increased, but there is no indication that this trend was pioneered by highbrow magazines. Unnamed characters seem to be a specialty of *Super-Science-Fiction*; their use by authors is virtually limited to villains and guardians.

B. Out-of-the-world names and unnamed characters are characteristic of lowbrow journals, while the frequent use of AS and foreign names is characteristic of highbrow magazines which are in this sense more conventional than the former.

C. Probably the most striking observation is that heroes have typically AS names (so, to a but slightly lesser degree, do the hero's helpers; the same is also true of episodic figures). However, the names of villains fall into all four categories with about the same frequency; and guardians mostly have foreign names, those with AS names being rare.

In general, the findings shown in our table support our original hypotheses. The special configurations noted in "C" above will require further consideration.

Type of Name

Role	AS	Foreign	Out-of-the-world	Total	Un-named	Grand Total
Heroes	17	3	1	21	—	21
Villains	6	6	5	17	4	21
Friends	22	7	2	31	2	33
Guardians and helpers	2	10	4	16	4	20
Episodic	23	2	2	27	2	29
Total	70	28	14	112	12	124
ASF, 6/59	15	4	3	22	1	23
Super-S F, 8/59	28	8	1	37	10	47
ASF, 5/49	10	13	1	24	—	24
Startling Stories, 1/49	17	3	9	29	1	30
Total "old"	27	16	10	53	1	54
Total "new"	43	12	4	59	11	70
Total "highbrow"	25	17	4	46	1	47
Total "lowbrow"	45	11	10	66	11	77

The most conspicuous feature concerning sex is the paucity of female characters. *ASF* of May 1949 has none; with the three other magazine issues, the proportion of female characters to male characters ranges from 1:6 to 1:9. None of the ten female characters in our material has an out-of-the-world name. None of them is episodic, and none is a guardian, though two are guardians' helpers. The tendency of science fiction to underplay female roles is by no means limited to our sample but has been commented upon by writers such as Bernabeu,² who used different material. This prac-

² E. P. Bernabeu, "Science Fiction: A New Mythos," *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, Vol. 26 (1957), 4, 527-535.

tice parallels the fact that, in contrast to other fields of fiction, almost all science fiction writers are men.³

Our material on male versus female roles and names is therefore too limited for tabulation. As to age, occupation, race, and species, too few characters are presented in sufficient detail in these 22 stories to permit definite conclusions. Nevertheless, as one might expect, the heroes in these stories are generally young, the villains and to some extent the guardians old; and races are distributed roughly as their names would indicate.

The science fiction authors' evident preference for AS names for their heroes (with the complementary findings about villains) is plausible. To the parochial mind it would seem most natural that "we" are the "good guys" while "they," the "bad guys," are foreigners and carry foreign or out-of-the-world names, or none at all. Since these writers range over all the galaxies and thus purport to be far removed from parochialism, it is surprising to catch them in parochial thinking right here; but such, we might as well admit, is the weakness of the human flesh.

This onomastic phenomenon has been noted outside science fiction. The German writer Gustav Landauer, who was killed by proto-Nazis in 1919, left a book⁴ in which he comments on the strangeness of the name *Shylock*. The name has been traced to Hebrew roots;⁵ but in the form that Shakespeare gave it, it sounds neither Italian nor Hebrew — either would have been expected — but rather English, and with unpleasant connotations: the emotional tone of both words, "shy" and "lock," is such that the combination conveys the impression of creepy alienness which is characteristic of Shylock. As Landauer pointed out, this English sound in the midst of euphonious Italian names — ending in -o for men and -a for women — is in effect a foreign name.

There is a good reason, of course, why the device has been little used since Shakespeare: realistic writers are obliged to select names for their characters which conform to their stations in life and the historic probability of the appearance of such a name. In the im-

³ K. Amis, *New Maps of Hell: A Survey of Science Fiction*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1960, p. 60.

⁴ G. Landauer, *Shakespeare*, Frankfurt a. M.: Rütten & Loening, 1922.

⁵ The Arden Edition of Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (seventh edition, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1955), p. 3.

aginary worlds of science fiction, however, there is no need for a writer to consider a preexisting milieu. The science fiction writer enjoys a degree of onomastic and other freedoms that the realistic writer does not have; in fact, it is this very quality which makes science fiction such a telling materialization of fantasies that in other writings must often be suppressed.⁶

It is interesting to compare the distribution of "goodness" and "badness" among "us" and "them" in American and Russian science fiction. Our own production is not free of national and racial bias: an unpublished study has shown, for instance, that non-white heroes are extremely rare, and non-white villains not quite so rare; the difference is highly statistically significant.⁷ Quite a few characters, however, represent an imaginary future blend of different human stocks — they are usually described as bronzed and handsome — and we single out no nation or group as the breeding ground of villains.

Russian science fiction, quite in contrast to ours, is directly and without subtlety integrated into the official propaganda effort, and the prevailing plot — at least in the Stalin Era — has involved the Russian hero and the American villain. Names conform with this practice, sometimes to the point of crudity — the arch — villain of one novel, an American politician, is called *Mr. Cheap*.⁸ Ironically, the authors of these works, written ten and more years ago, have a monotonous preference for casting Americans in the role of capitalistic spies who are likely to obtain information about the "fatherland of all the toilers" through the use of new technical devices.

There is a popular belief that science fiction writers have a peculiar gift of prophecy: that *Jules Verne*, for instance, was somehow able to predict inventions which were made after his time. There is hardly any real basis for such an assumption, either in Russian stories of American spies, or — for that matter — elsewhere. Serious students of science fiction, however, have explored the relationship between phenomena appearing both in science fiction at one time

⁶ R. Plank, "The Reproduction of Psychosis in Science Fiction," *International Record of Medicine*, Vol. 167 (1954), 7, 407–421.

⁷ W. Hirsch, personal communication dated July 8, 1960.

⁸ P. Yershov, *Science Fiction and Utopian Fantasy in Soviet Literature*. New York: Research Program on the U.S.S.R., 1954.

and in reality at a later time. They have found that science fiction, though unable to prophesy, may possess the even more valuable power of preparing the mental soil for future growth. The explanation of the surprising observation that science fiction predictions so often come true would thus be akin to the "self-fulfilling prophecy": e.g., the fictitious description of an invention that has not yet been made may inspire a technician to make it; or, less crudely, science fiction may develop an interest and an enthusiasm in its readers, or capitalize on an interest already present though in a dormant state, with the result that this inspiration later leads to practical delving into the problem. These ideas have been conceptualized by the use of such terms as *prolepsis*⁹ and *anticipation*.¹⁰

A case for these concepts can be made: Russian stories, written long before there was a U-2 plane, may have helped to prepare an emotional climate in that country in which a later incident could assume an importance out of all proportion to its real significance. The verification of such hunches is because of its very difficulty a valuable challenge to research in the behavioral sciences.

As far as the peculiar distribution of the names of guardians in American science fiction is concerned, yet another force is at work: where the clash of different cultures is a main motive in the story — and this is true of many science fiction stories and especially of those where guardians occur — two patterns are most likely to be followed: the guardian may belong to our culture (or a culture akin to ours) and the hero to an alien culture, or vice versa. A story in which human space travelers discover natives on another planet and bring them the blessings of civilization belongs to the former type: one in which the pilot of a flying saucer descends to rescue us from atomic war belongs to the latter type. Obviously, the first is a manifestation of Victorian buoyancy while the second expresses a yearning to be saved. The relative frequency of the two types is thus a measure of the anxiety rampant in our culture. The virtual absence of AS names among guardians and their helpers shows that the pressure of anxiety is rather high.

Although the scope of this study was modest, the amount of information it produced was gratifying. True, quite similar results

⁹ K. Amis, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ "Par delà la science-fiction: La pensée anticipatrice," *Arguments* 2 (1958).

could be obtained through the method of content analysis which Hirsch¹¹ applied to science fiction. However, the onomatologic method has specific advantages — simplicity, and the ease with which the material can be classified with little ambiguity. It can give us new insight into science fiction, and through it, as through a window, a clearer view of man's predicament in our civilization.

Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

¹¹ W. Hirsch, "The Image of the Scientist in Science Fiction: A Content Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 63 (1958), 5, 506-512.

Settling *Laurel's* Business

HAMILL KENNY

I SHOULD LIKE TO CALL the attention of United States place name students to the possibility that *laurel* in *Laurel Hill*, West Virginia and Pennsylvania, is not from the North American mountain laurel but (by folk etymology) from (1) either Delaware *lawi* or Shawnee *lāwi*, each a reflex of the Proto-Algonquian stem **θāwi* 'middle,' or (2) either Delaware *lawi*¹ or Shawnee *laawi* (Voegelin), each a reflex of the Proto-Algonquian stem **lāwi* 'far,' 'too far,' 'falls short.' Possibility Number One has already been mentioned by some local historians; the meaning of *Laurel Hill* from PA **θāwi* would be 'Middle Mountain.' Possibility Number Two is my own suggestion,² and has heretofore been unprinted. The meaning of *Laurel Hill* from PA **lāwi* would be 'Far or Distant Mountain.'

The hill in question is part of a significant range of the Appalachian Mountains, and stretches from north central West Virginia into southwestern Pennsylvania. It is called *Laurel Hill* (1755, 1780) and *Laurel Mountain* (1780, 1894, 1904) in West Virginia; in Pennsylvania it is called *Laurel Hill*. Parallel to it lies Chestnut Ridge, Pennsylvania, the northern section of which on some maps bears the name *Laurel Hill*. Loyalhanna Creek emerges from the west side of Chestnut Ridge. In the valley between Chestnut Ridge and Laurel Hill proper lay the old Delaware Indian town, *Loyalhanna (the site today of Ligonier, Pa.).

In *West Virginia Place Names Their Origin and Meaning*,³ I attribute Laurel Hill to the abundance of difficult laurel thickets. It

Note: The asterisk indicates prototypes and extinct place names; ? is used for the glottal stop; *aa* stands for *ā*; PA means Proto-Algonquian.

¹ Found in the compound *lawat* 'long ago.'

² I am indebted to the Reverend James A. Geary.

³ Piedmont, W. Va., 1945, pp. 361-62.

would be hard to prove that Laurel Hill does not owe its name to this shrub. The French called it *Mons de Lauriers*; the maps of Fry and Jefferson (1751) and Bew (1780) designate it as *Laurel Thickets*. Laurel abounds in the locality: in Pennsylvania it is the state flower; each June, in West Virginia, it covers entire mountain sides with its pink and purple blossoms.

Claude W. Maxwell⁴ declares, however, that there is "considerable reason" to believe that *Laurel Hill* is not from the laurel, but from the Delaware word meaning 'middle.' It would mean 'Middle Mountain,' Maxwell concludes; and, as though it were significant, he states that "Loyal hanna in 'Penns Woods' is derived from Laurel-hanne meaning 'Middle Stream.'" A later writer, West Virginia newspaper editor Calvin Price,⁵ recalls a tradition that *laurel* in *Laurel Hill* was originally pronounced "like *lauya* is spelled"; and he comments, "It is said to mean middle or dividing." Stating that "... on the white man's tongue *lauya* could soon become laurel," Price adds, "I have been told that Laurel Mountain is the highest land east of the Ozarks until the Back Alleghanies are reached."

On the foregoing remarks by Maxwell and Price, one must comment (1) that the spelling "Laurel hanne" (for *Loyalhanne*) needs verification; (2) that any mountain between two other mountains can be described as *middle*; and (3) that *laurel* can as easily and plausibly come from PA **lāwi* (Delaware *lawi*,⁶ Shawnee *laawi* /Voegelin/) 'far,' 'too far,' 'falls short,' as from PA **θāwi* (Delaware *lawi*, Shawnee *lāwi*) 'middle.' The meaning would then be 'Far or Distant Mountain,' which describes the range even more appropriately than 'Middle.' It should be noticed, as regards the two prototypes, that PA **θ* and PA **L* both give *l* in Delaware and Shawnee — which means that PA **θāwi* and PA **lāwi* fall together in Delaware and Shawnee to give the homophones *lawi* and *laawi* (Voegelin). The other descendants of the two stems are found today as (1) from PA **θāwi* 'middle' — Abnaki *nōwi* (borrowed), Algonkin *naw*, Cree *tāw*, Fox *nāwi*, Menominee *nāw*, Natick *nōeu* and Ojibwa *nāwi*; and (2) from PA **lāwi* 'far,' 'too far,' 'falls short' — Algonkin *naw-i*

⁴ "Indian Names in West Virginia," *Magazine of History — Biography of Randolph County Historical Society*, 1924, pp. 67–70.

⁵ *Pocahontas Times* (Marlington, W. Va.), April 27, 1939.

⁶ Found in the compound *lawat* 'long ago.'

(Cuoq), Cree *yâwi* (Lacombe, 660), Fox *nâwi-*, Menominee *no 'sôh*, Narragansett *nâwawick* (Williams), Natick *nô* (Trumbull) and Ojibwa *nâwi* (Jones's Ojibwa Texts).

The Delaware Indians were in the Laurel Hill region, Pennsylvania, as early as 1724. The name of their settlement (**Loyalhanning*, **Loyalhannon*, **Loyal Hanin Old Town*) contains either Delaware *lawi* 'middle,' or Delaware *lawi* from PA **lâwi* 'far,' 'too far,' 'falls short,' both of which resemble Calvin Price's traditional "lauya." In Shawnee these stems are *lâwi* and *laawi*, homophones. They also resemble "lauya." Though the Shawnees did not live as near Laurel Hill as the Delawares, yet there were 350 Shawnee warriors in western Pennsylvania in 1732; and after 1748 the 600 Shawnee people on the Ohio were joined by kindred Shawnees from the Susquehanna.

Though there is a good basis for the origin from *laurel*, one cannot ignore the possibility that Laurel Hill in Pennsylvania and West Virginia takes its name by folk etymology from either Delaware *lawi* (Shawnee *lâwi*) 'middle,' or Delaware *lawi* (Shawnee *laawi*) from PA 'far,' 'too far,' 'falls short.' In history one or the other of these homophones is the principal stem in **Loyalhanning* and (1769) **Lawunakhannek*,⁷ the names of two extinct Delaware Indian towns. Depending on which stem really occurs, the two names may mean either 'Where there is a middle stream,' or 'Where there is a distant stream.' And it appears plausible that one or the other of the homophones may occur in *Lonaconing*, a difficult Western Maryland place name. Certainly one or the other of the homophones occurs in the two current Algonquian stream names, *Loyalhanna* and *Loyalsock*. Donehoo⁸ gives only part of the problem when he says that they both mean 'Middle Creek.' They could as easily be from PA **lâwi* and mean 'Far Creek.' To ascertain that one of these pairs of stems occurs in *Laurel Hill* would be to revive for posterity an old and important Algonquian place name.

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⁷ George P. Donehoo, *A History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg [1928]), p. 89.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

The Hell You Did Not Say

C. GRANT LOOMIS

EUPHEMISMS FOR HELL are commonly considered antiquated. The blunt word in its own right has such frequency today that we need a new term to emphasize the hot wish. An older and more cautious generation found substitutes for the nether regions, at least in polite society and in the presence of ladies. Daring authors in the nineteenth century might write h--l, but, commonly, their characters uttered less direct imprecations:¹ *Go to blazes! What the blazes!* (Mathews, I, 131); *Go to the deuce (dickens)!* for devil or hell (Oxford); *Go to grass!* (Mathews, I, 734); *To come like a bat out of heaven*; that is, instead of hell (Whiting, 9, 222); *What the heck!* (Raine, *Run of the Brush*, 1936); *By heckelum!* (Hills, p. 260); *Oh hen!* (Hills, p. 260), or similar mild expletives. Although such creations are interesting enough evasions in themselves, another kind of pattern makes use of names of either places or persons which are equivalents for hell. The following examples derive chiefly from a twentieth-century author. William MacLeod Raine, who might be called the most prolific progenitor of western stories (more than eighty). His good men and bad use a language which is surprisingly mild, when we consider the roughness of their deeds and the nature of their background. They never swear in a forthright fashion before ladies, and they rarely use unadorned expletives, even among themselves.² They follow the code of earlier times:

Guinea: (pronounced *gin-ny*, with hard *g*): Now the kid's telling Soapy to go to Guinea (*Crooked Trails and Straight*, 1913, p. 99). See

¹ Sources are as follows: E. C. Hills, "Exclamations in American English," *Dialect Notes*, 5, pt. vii (1924), pp. 253-284; Mitford M. Mathews, *A Dictionary of Americanisms*, 2 vols, Chicago, 1951; *Oxford Universal Dictionary*, 1937; William MacLeod Raine. See separate titles. B. J. Whiting, "The Devil and Hell in Current English Literary Idiom," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, 20, 201-247.

² I noted: hell's bells (*Bonanza*, 1926, p. 170; *The Fighting Tenderfoot*, 1929, p. 174; and *Sons of the Saddle*, 1938, p. 91); hell's hinges (*Bonanza*, 1926, p. 4; and *Colorado*, 1927, p. 58). The substitutes for damn, God and Jesus are too numerous to list here.

Gehenna: the place of future torment; hell; hell-fire. *2 Kings*, xxiii, 10 and numerous other allusions. See also *Hills*, p. 259.

Hades: I don't give a hoot in Hades (*Whiting*, p. 224; also p. 221) Still heard orally.

Hail Columbia: To give someone Hail Columbia (*Mathews*, I, 763 in a range from 1854—1946).

Helen: *Helen and Maria* or *Hell and Maria* (*Hills*, p. 260); *Go to Helen B. Happy!* (oral); *Go to Helen Hunter* (J. R. Caldwell, 1958); *Go to Helena Montana* (oral, 1958).³

Halifax: You go to Halifax! (*Bucky O'Connor*, 1907, p. 107; *Wyoming*, 1907, p. 246; *Mavericks*, 1911, p. 131). See also *Hills*, p. 260.

Holy Ned: He raised Holy Ned (*Whiting*, p. 246, 1932).

Mexico: Who in Mexico wants to accept Haight's offer? (*Troubled Waters*, 1918, p. 192); Who in Mexico are you? (*Texas Man*, 1928, p. 189); Why in Mexico do you ride around in them clothes? (*The Fighting Tenderfoot*, 1929, p. 3); Oh, go to Mexico! (*The Black Tolls*, 1932, p. 18); What in Mexico is this all about? (*Border Breed*, 1935, p. 63); To Mexico with handcuffs (*On the Dodge*, 1938, p. 130); How in Mexico did you get away with that? (*Sons of the Saddle*, 1938, p. 175).

Nell's Bells: For Nell's bells (*Hills*, p. 274. *Mathews*, I, 793).

Sam Hill: What in Sam Hill about? (*On the Dodge*, 1938, p. 113). See *Mathews*, II, 1451 (1839) and *Hills*, p. 276.

Tophet: It's hot as tophet (*Whiting*, 1931, p. 247). See *2 Kings*, xxiii, 10, also William Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, III, 1563 for a long account. Still current.

Tunket: See *Mathews*, II, 1779 (1871). Possibly variant of tophet.

Yuma: She used to say that there was just one thin sheet of sandpaper between Yuma and hell (*Whiting*, 1935, p. 229). The hell analogy of this city is at least a century old. One hears of the native of Yuma who needed blankets in hell. *The Fighting Tenderfoot*, p. 92: Tom will last as long as a snowball in Yuma on July Fourth.

University of California, Berkeley

³ Professor Bjarne Ulvestad, a former colleague, now at the University of Bergen, Norway, called my attention to similar allusions in Scandinavia and Germany: Gå til Helgoland; Gå til Helgeland; and Gå til Helsing (Helsinki).

Place Name Literature, Canada 1946–1960

PAULINE A. SEELY,

RICHARD B. SEALOCK

This list is a supplement to Sealock and Seely, *Bibliography of Place Name Literature*, published in 1948 by the American Library Association. A short list for Canada was included in the authors' "Place Name Literature, United States and Canada, 1952–1954," published in *Names* 3:114 to 116, June 1955. Most of those items are not repeated here.

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in *Holiday*, Vol. 27, May, 1960, pp. 36, 38-39. Philadelphia, 1960.

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in *The Sporting News*, July 27, 1960, p. 14. St. Louis, 1960.

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Evanston, Illinois

Book Reviews

Mexico — The Name. By Gutierre Tibón. Published by Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences. Onomastica No. 17. Winnipeg, 1959. Pp. 32.

This study of the name Mexico by Professor Tibón, our member in Mexico City, is a scholarly piece in the Onomastica Series edited by Professor J. B. Rudnyókyj.

After a discussion of early tribal names for the country and city we now know as Mexico, Professor Tibón examines the various theories for the etymology of Mexico, and the various Indian names for the city and country of Mexico. His conclusion as to the meaning of the name is: "Mexico comes from the Náhuatl *Metzxihco*, that is *Metz(tli)xih(tli)co*, 'in the navel of the moon.' "

Those who are familiar with the other scholarly works on names from the pen of Professor Tibón will immediately have confidence in his conclusions in this short work, and they will not be disillusioned.

Elsdon C. Smith

The Use of Names by Micronesians. Edited by John E. deYoung. Anthropological Working Papers, A Series Issued from the Office of The Staff Anthropologist Trust Territory of The Pacific Islands. Guam, M. I. Number 3. Second Edition, 1960. Pp. 124.

This is a group of six articles by various anthropologists on Yapese, Palauan, Ponapean, Trukese, Marshallese and Mariana names. As studies of the acquisition of surnames by primitive peoples this work is most interesting. Other name practices are discussed, and it may be observed that the various peoples did not follow exactly the same name customs.

The younger generation first began to adopt surnames for official record purposes, and the practice gradually spread. Influence of the German, Japanese, and American administrations are apparent ;

early contact with English whalers and missionaries influenced names. In most of the groups use of the father's birth name as a family name is common.

Other family names originated in various ways. The lot on which a man resided had a name and this name might become the man's surname as long as he lived there. Clan titles, from a position of responsibility and prestige, were sometimes hereditary and identified the bearer. The Christian, or church, name, i.e. the baptismal name which was different from the given or birth name, sometimes became the surname. As in other parts of the world, nicknames often became the permanent family name. Clan names could be used as surnames.

Elsdon C. Smith

The American Counties; A Record of the Names of the 3,067 Counties, Dates of Creation and Organization, Area Population, Historical Data, Etc.

By Joseph Nathan Kane. viii and 500 pp.; tables. Scarecrow Press, Inc., New York, 1960. 8³/₄ x 5³/₄ inches. \$11.00.

This useful reference work will be of particular interest to students of onomastics and American historical geography or to anyone who has occasion to make much use of county data. After a brief preface and an introductory chapter analyzing the sources of American county names, we find a lengthy (251-page) table listing each of the 3,067 present day counties alphabetically and stating the date of its creation, its land area, 1950 population, county seat, and the origin of its name. In those cases where the aboriginal term or person after whom the county was named is obscure, there is a brief, but enlightening, biographical or etymological statement. Five shorter tables — those listing the counties by states and chronologically by date of formation, the former names of counties that have undergone name changes, and the alphabetical lists of county seats and of individuals after whom counties have been named — are basically re-arrangements of the master table, except for the introduction of material on name changes and citations of the statutes organizing the counties.

As the best single compendium of basic facts concerning the American counties, this volume merits space in any reference library; and Kane appears to have performed an exemplary job within his stated aims. Unfortunately, some major deficiencies must be noted. There are no maps or bibliographical citations; there is no information on the numerous, and often baffling, boundary changes various counties have undergone; and some dozens of extinct counties are left unmentioned. Consequently, it will still be necessary for anyone concerned with shifts in the names, identities, and boundaries of many of our American counties to leaf through an imposing stack of older Census bulletins in order to track down the elusive facts.

Wilbur Zelinsky

Southern Illinois University

Nebraska Place-Names by Lilian L. Fitzpatrick. New edition, including selections from *The Origin of the Place-Names of Nebraska* by J. T. Link. Edited, with an introduction, by G. Thomas Fairclough. Bison Books. 107. University of Nebraska Press, 1960.

This attractive paperback is a reprint of two earlier monographs; Miss Fitzpatrick's work originally appeared in the University of Nebraska *Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism* in 1925; Mr. Link's, which is only partially reprinted in the present volume, was first issued in 1933 as a Bulletin of the Nebraska Geological Survey. In his introduction, Mr. Fairclough expresses the hope that the reprinting of these two studies at this time will stimulate interest in placename research in Nebraska. This review, therefore, will consider the works in terms of their utility as models. It is, after all, hardly fair to hold the late authors of works already a generation old responsible for techniques that have been developed in more recent times. On the other hand, if this re-issue of *Nebraska Place-Names* is to be used as a point of departure by future researchers, now is surely the time to point out its avoidable flaws along with its retainable virtues.

Of the two authors, Miss Fitzpatrick is, on the whole, to be preferred as a model. She had the wisdom to take as her province a

do-able segment on the place-names of Nebraska; her research was limited to community names, which she classed as those belonging to "places of human settlement and government divisions." Her results appear in an orderly dictionary style, arranged according to counties. Mr. Link sought to investigate the origins of every name then on existing state maps; the four chapters of his work which comprise Part II of this book represent, says Mr. Fairclough, the bulk of what has been done on Nebraska natural features. It is unfortunate that a man of Mr. Link's abilities and interests lacked the compulsion to precision that is the very fibre of sound research; he seems not to have felt the obligation to give full and specific information on one problem before leaping on to the next challenge. It is the stated intention of the editor to call the attention of scholars to what remains to be done, and to point out the availability of information on which future studies may be based. The future researcher might be well advised, however, to avail himself chiefly of the bibliographies, files, and maps assemb'ed by Miss Fitzpatrick and Mr. Linder; he should avoid attempting to read their minds. He should seek to take fullest advantage of what work has been done without jumping to conclusions — *pro or con* — about its reliability or inclusiveness. He owes himself a *tabula rasa* on which to work out his own conclusions according to his own methods.

The Model A Ford was a perfectly splendid car, but it cannot fairly or realistically be compared with today's Thunderbird; placename research must also be viewed in the context of its times and of the methods and materials known to its authors. Following are some suggestions for today's scholar who finds the model of *Nebraska Place-Names* stimulates him to undertake some research.

FIRST: He should follow Miss Fitzpatrick's example and stake off for himself an area small enough so he can do it extremely well. He may not wish to restrict himself to one category of place-names; he may prefer to do all the place-names he can find in one town or, if he is more ambitious, in one county.

SECOND: He should avail himself of some of the excellent intensive studies that have been done in recent years; the work of the late Professor Robert L. Ramsay and his students at Missouri should be studied carefully, as should Professor Frederic G. Cas-

sidy's *The Place Names of Dane County, Wisconsin* (Publications of the American Dialect Society, 7, 1947) which employs Ramsay's methods in the main. Particularly desirable is the terse style of its entries, which give the essential information but avoid the copy-bookish prose which Miss Fitzpatrick sometimes used; for example, s.v. *Burbank*, page 20:

"This inland place was located in Snake Creek precinct, near Snake Creek. It was named after the local postmaster. The postoffice has been discontinued."

THIRD: Pronunciations, recorded in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, should be given for all but the most obvious names; the reader may then assume the customary pronunciation if none is given. Such might be the case with *Rice* or *Hillside*, but there are many unexpected variants in local usage that the researcher has an obligation to record. For example, *Athens*, Vermont is pronounced [eθənz], and *Gillett*, Wisconsin has the stress on the first syllable. Nebraska has many Indian place-names and many foreign imports; the reader of a modern report on them should expect to find out the local pronunciations of such names as *Danneborg*, *Nysted*, *Otoe*, *Saint Deroi*n, *Doniphan*, and a host of others. He should not be left to guess whether it is safe to pronounce *Nemaha* on analogy with *Omaha*.

An excellent way to give place-name research a real utility and to undermine the arguments of those who would dismiss us as diletantes is to record accurately and scientifically the current local pronunciations of the names of the area under study. The investigator, often a native, is usually interested in or involved with the territory in which he is working, and should consider it vital to do field work to assemble pronunciations and local traditions. Some of the fanciful local legends on the origins of names he may and must reject, but for the pronunciations, the inhabitants are unassailable authorities. (There is, for example, a shibboleth here in the Connecticut Valley by which the natives may be separated from the "others." Outlanders pronounce *Holyoke* as if it were a sacred tree; natives make it the entire yellow portion of an egg.) Many of this land's names appear in its literature, and aside from the pleasure of providing readers with authentic local pronunci-

ations, the investigator will also do a great service to compilers of dictionaries, gazetteers, geography books, and histories, to say nothing of radio, television, and news-wire services whose pronunciation guides, especially domestic ones, are not always reliable.

FOURTH: The entries should give as much information as diligent research can discover; the loving care and exquisite detail of the *English Place Name Society Publications* entries is perhaps impractical for the average American publication, but the scholar should certainly have in his files a bulk of comparable information which would be available to anyone seeking further detail. Ambiguities and fragmentary statements should be avoided; this is not always done in the book under consideration. First names should be given rather than "... *Hansen* was named for a civil engineer by that name..." or *Spragg* "... probably named for a local resident." In the latter instance the reader is left in double doubt: were there people named *Spragg* there at one time and if so was the town named for them? This frustration is frequently repeated by Miss Fitzpatrick, for example s.v. *Lynch*, *Winfield*, *Nesbit*, and *Thurman*; more complete information is given at some entries, but there is more sketchiness than is desirable.

Other fragmentary explanations and etymologies that the new researcher should avoid are exemplified by *Altai* and *Nacora*. The former town, situated on a watershed and — presumably — on high ground is derived, we are told, from Latin *altus*; *Nacora* is said to be "formed from the Spanish *nacio* which means 'I am born.' " In neither case is an explanation for the current form of the name offered; no philologist worth his salt will be content with partial explanations of this sort. To this reviewer, both of the etymologies cited above seem suspect; the similarity just doesn't go far enough to explain the forms. One might as readily claim *Altai* as a "corruption" of the Biblical name *Adlai*, and *Nacora* could as plausibly be said to wear an Indian look.

FIFTH: The new generation of place-name scholars in Nebraska, or practically anywhere else in the United States must also look into the wealth of scholarship that has been published about the Amerind languages in recent years. Good bibliographies are available, and the files of the *International Journal of American Lin-*

guistics alone will provide a research scholar with numerous leads on which American Indian languages are being worked on and by whom. The explanations of Indian words repeated in naivete out of 19th century local history books should not be endured in a modern work unless they coincide with the best explanations that modern linguistic science can produce.

This review has given most of its attention to Miss Fitzpatrick's work because Mr. Link's, though interesting, seems to have little potential as a model on which to build future research. The flaws in Miss Fitzpatrick's work would, one feels certain, most surely have been righted by the author herself had she lived into our own times and been able to do a new edition. Her early and untimely death has made this the task of others, and it has been the intent in this discussion not to discredit Miss Fitzpatrick and her efforts but to point out ways in which her work can best be used by the author or authors of the new *Nebraska Place-Names*.

Mr. Fairclough and those who aided him are to be thanked for placing this work before us again; the University of Nebraska Press deserves a compliment on the attractive format and reasonable price. Perhaps other university presses may take a cue from this handsome Bison Book and publish or re-issue more place-name studies in their growing paperback series.

Audrey R. Duckert

University of Massachusetts

THE SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ONOMASTIC SCIENCES

After the sixth congress in Munich in August 1958 (see *Names* 8 [1960], 102–108), the Seventh International Congress of Onomastic Sciences was held in Florence, Italy, April 4–8 (in Pisa on April 6), 1961, organized under the direction of Professor Carlo Battisti of the University of Florence.

At registration of the participants a plastic briefcase was given to each member of the congress containing the pocket-sized program, printed reports, and reprints of members. The program included all names and addresses of the members and a synopsis of each communication to be presented orally and to be discussed. There were nine separately printed reports by Paul Aebischer, Pier Maria Conti, Louis Deroy, Henri Guiter, Mauritz Gysseling, Mate Hraste, N. Lahovary, C. A. Mastrelli, Dante Olivieri. Pamphlets were offered to the members by G. Alessio, C. Battisti, P. Fronzaroli, V. Georgiev, G. B. Pellegini, J. B. Rudnyćkyj, Y. Slavutych, C. Tagliavini, and reprinted materials (from *Studi Etruschi* 28 [1960] 3–67) by C. Battisti, G. Devoto, and Gabriella Giacomelli. In the materials was included a circular invitation of the Editor of *Names* to the congressists telling them of the tenth anniversary of the American Name Society and of a planned tenth anniversary issue and inviting papers from them to be included in it. In the meantime, volume 10 of *Names* is planned as a tenth anniversary volume.

The congress was well attended. Four hundred five members attended and ninety-six persons accompanied them. The representatives of individual institutes and countries were as follows.

Argentina 1	France 11	Malta 1	Sweden 7
Austria 5	Germany 25	Norway 3	Switzerland 8
Belgium 18	Greece 1	Poland 3	Turkey 1
Bulgaria 2	Holland 8	Portugal 3	United States 5
Canada 5	Hungary 2	Roumania 1	Yugoslavia 5
Czechoslovakia 3	Ireland 3	Spain 12	
Denmark 5	Italy 40		

The papers and reports, a total of 105, were grouped in three sections, *viz.*

- I: *Toponomastics* 58
- II: *Personal names* 29
- III: *Toponomastics and cartography* 18

The actual numbers, however, may have been slightly different than are given above, for there were many cancellations and additions during the course of the congress. From the United States and Canada the following attended the congress and read papers:

Meredith F. Burrill, Washington, D.C.

Demetrius J. Georgacas, Grand Forks, N. Dak.

(temporarily: Athens, Greece)

Erik Hamp, Chicago

Jaroslav B. Rudnyćkyj, Winnipeg, Man., Canada

Yar Slavutych, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

George R. Stewart, Berkeley, Calif.

all except Hamp members of the American Name Society.

The *Acta and Memoires* will appear in four volumes, each of about 320 pages:

- I. *Acta and Memoires of the toponomastic section* (from *Aquilina* to *Laurenzi*);
- II. *Memoires of the toponomastic section* (continued);
- III. *Memoires of the anthroponymy section*; and
- IV. *Memoires of the cartographic section*; *indices*.

The printed *Acta*, I, pp. 3-50, were to reach the members in the summer 1961, according to Professor Carlo Battisti; the first volumes were to be available by the end of 1961 and volumes 3 and 4 in 1962. The price of these volumes is not known yet.

Resolutions. — A resolution proposed by Professors Bruno Migliorini and C. A. Mastrelli and passed is as follows (in translation):

The Seventh Congress of Onomastic Sciences recommends that a toponomastic center and an anthroponymic center be created to provide for methodical collections and to serve as a place of support for the researches of Italian and foreign scholars.

A second proposal was introduced by Dr. Meredith F. Burrill and passed. The text follows here:

Whereas the International Congress of Onomastic Sciences has for more than a decade interested itself in international standardization of geographic names, and

whereas the basic elements of a realistic international standardization program, on which many countries have agreed, were worked out at the International Congress of Onomastic Sciences in 1955, and whereas the findings and recommendations of the Group of Experts on Geographical Names set forth in the United Nations Economic and Social Council document E/3441 are consistent with those elements and program, and whereas the International Congress of Onomastic Sciences recognizes that it can aid the program further and in turn be aided by it, now therefore be it Resolved that the International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, assembled at Firenze, endorses the recommendations of the Group of Experts set forth in the United Nations document E/3441, and be it further resolved that the International Committee and the International Centre of Onomastic Sciences hold themselves ready to cooperate in such ways as may be found appropriate with anybody set up by the United Nations to promote international standardization of geographic names, and be it further resolved that the International Congress of Onomastic Sciences commends to its members, to toponymists everywhere, and to governments, the aforesaid document for study and implementation and be it further resolved that the Economic and Social Council be urged to publish the report in such form as will make it readily available to toponymists as well as to others concerned.

The *International Committee of Onomastic Sciences* (*Comité International des Sciences Onomastiques*, abbreviated *CISO*) held its fourth statutory meeting before the assembly meeting in the Aula Philosophica of the University of Florence under the chairmanship of H. J. van de Wijer, Secretary General of CISO, on Saturday, April 8, 11:30–12:20 p.m. Twenty nine members of CISO representing twenty-two countries attended, among them Meredith F. Burrill and Demetrius J. Georgacas (United States) and Jaroslav B. Rudnýčkj (Canada). The chairman, Mr. van de Wijer, welcomed the members of the Committee and thanked them for their collaboration in *Onoma*, paid tribute to the memory of four effective members who had died since 1958, M. Schönfeld (Netherlands), M. Triandaphyllidis (Greece), O. Larusson (Iceland), and Sever Pop (Roumania), and of two honorary members, J. Vendryes and A. Carnoy; he reported on the activities of CISO since the Munich congress and announced the publication of volumes 7 and 8 and of the first number of volume 9 of *Onoma*, and the printing and preparation of retrospective bibliographies of Poland (in the press) and of Latin America, Africa, and Spain (in preparation).

The assembly elected the following eminent onomatologists to the list of honorary members: G. Rohlf, J. Lindemans, Bruce Dickins, J. Vannérus, and A. Vincent.

One of the customary resolutions proposed by this Committee and passed by the plenary assembly is about the place of the next congress. The eighth international congress will be held in Amsterdam in 1963 to coincide with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first Congress organized by Albert Dauzat in Paris in 1938, the ninth was set tentatively to be held in London in 1966, and the tenth in Vienna in 1969.

The American Name Society was represented in the meetings, as said above, though Mr. and Mrs. Elsdon C. Smith, who had made arrangements to come, were, because of the sudden illness of our book review editor, unable to realize their trip. The attending *ANS* members had a pleasant informal dinner get-together at the Hotel *Minerva* one evening, where the three past presidents, Meredith F. Burrill, George R. Stewart, and Jaroslav B. Rudnyčyj, met with the editor of *Names* and Mrs. Georgacas and had the opportunity to discuss informally matters of the Society and of the journal. One of the matters brought up was Dr. Burrill's thought that the Library of Congress may be interested in establishing a research chair of Onomastics and Mr. Burrill took it upon himself to present the matter to the officials of the Library.

The congress in Florence and Pisa was certainly a useful meeting of onomatologists from twenty-five countries. Naturally each of the over one hundred papers presented was attended by those interested in the special field concerned. The finest spring weather of Easter week and the cultural setting of Florence and Pisa were most pleasant indeed. The organized social affairs were an obvious display of Italian hospitality enjoyed by all. The local committee under Professors Carlo Battisti, chairman, and C. A. Mastrelli, secretary, did a great deal of work to coordinate the meetings and the social affairs for the comfort of the participants. Our thanks are due to them.

For some information I am indebted to Professor Carlo Battisti and Professor H. J. van de Wijer, who promptly offered their help.

Demetrius J. Georgacas

Notes and Queries

A bounty of clippings and bibliographical notes have come to the attention of the N & Q editor during the past few months; many of them are from thoughtful *ANS* members with sharp eyes and scissors. They come from varied sources — the *New York Times* to the Fairbanks, Alaska *Daily News-Miner*; from time to time notes and excerpts from these may appear in this column; some items are filed for future use in a possible general discussion of a specific theme in naming. Many thanks to those who have sent such items; in the final issue of each year, a list of readers who have contributed to the *ANS* archives will appear in these pages.

A recurring phrase, sometimes in the most interesting printed items, is — lamentably — “What’s in a name?” This automatic, all-purpose, all-occasion title has been used so often since first it was filched from *Romeo and Juliet* that it might be a lark for some scholar on a busman’s holiday to trace its downhill progress into the realm of the cliché. One is tempted to ask for a voluntary pledge of abstinence from *ANS* members, and to hope that from a small beginning may come an increase in freshness and originality in the presentation of popular material on onomastics. “What’s in a name?” like “In this atomic age...” and “Commencement is not the end but the beginning” should be filed in a dormant folder, tagged: “How long, oh Lord, how long?”

Dan Foley is a well-known New England horticulturist whose program “Garden Time” is broadcast weekly by the New England Educational FM network; in a recent broadcast, Mr. Foley made some observations on the apparent effect of names on the popularity of flower varieties. Citing instances from tea rose names, he noted that a number of handsome European varieties had failed to catch on in America when introduced under their original names. An exquisite Dutch rose, for instance, did not become popular with American gardeners until its name had been altered; the “Mee-vrouw” in its original name had been too much for the average American tongue.

Euphemism in names is a well-documented phenomenon; the efforts of the real-estate developer are hard to match among place-

names; wishful thinking and hero-worship may both enter into grandiose names given to babies; but the emergence of lily-gilders among the lily-guilders opens up a whole new field for investigation.

A horticulturist who is interested in names or a flower-raising onomatologist could probably produce some further and more specific information on the subject; dialectologists have done considerable work on vernacular plant names, and botanical taxonomists have produced a monumental international guide to botanical nomenclature which covers the technical niceties; it would seem to be our turn next.

John Chadwick, who, with the late Michael Ventris, accomplished the interpretation and decipherment of the Mycenaean Linear B tablets, has published a well-illustrated, non-technical account of this task in the March and April (1961) issues of *Natural History* magazine. Based on Mr. Chadwick's book *The Decipherment of Linear B*, these two articles afford a lively introduction to both the linguistic and the archaeological aspects of the Mycenaean finds.

The text of the Linear B tablets is no great national epic; the inscriptions are largely part of an inventory. Of particular interest to *Names* readers is this statement on page 66 of the April installment: "It is fascinating to see the names given to a yoke of oxen: Dapple and Darkie, Whitefoot and Winey; Blondie and Bawler are rough equivalents." Shades of Buck and Bright, Turk and Star, and Jack and Jerry! The American Frontier and ancient Greece have found a meeting ground, and the ox-names of the ages await a chronicler. Equally interesting would be a study of all the names in the Mycenaean inscriptions; if such a study is being planned, *Names* would be glad indeed to know of it.

* * *

The Notes and Queries column is not intended to serve as a place for suggesting all sorts of work for *other* people to do for the delectation of its compiler, but the pervasive alliteration in ox-names brings to mind one further possibility for some research: a study of the names given to paired people, objects, animals, or phenomena

of any sort. How great is the compulsion to rhyme and alliteration in the names given to twins, for instance? Some parents conscientiously avoid giving twins similar names in the hopes of emphasizing individuality, but many follow the pattern of Tweedledum and Tweedledee or of Penrod's friends Herman and Vermin. Certainly there is some influence exerted on the name-giver by the similarity of a group of objects to be named; generations of boys who have named identical marbles "Pete and Re-Pete" or "Kate and Dupli-Kate" over the past fifty years exhibit the same urge toward symmetry as parents who name their twins Jean and Dean. Running counter to this is a need to break the rhyme where three names are involved: Wynken, Blynken, and Nod; Flopsy, Mopsy, and Cottontail. The underlying psychology involved in this paradoxical pair of drives to construct symmetry and to shatter it ought to be an interesting avenue for research.

ANS member Dr. George H. Pollock has suggested a panel discussion at a future meeting to take up the psychology of name selection in American society. Drs. Robert Plank and Myron Brender, the latter a new member, have also expressed an interest in this subject. Raymond Wilson, a member of the editorial staff of the *G. and C. Merriam Company* is an after-hours collector of unusual first names and has also become interested in the motivations behind name-giving. Doubtless there are many other *ANS* members with similar curiosities and collections; a panel such as Dr. Pollock suggests might make a fine contribution to a future *ANS* program and eventually perhaps to the printed pages of *Names*. Now is the time for the people with the data, the ideas, and the questions to get together.

From Professor Francis Lee Utley comes word of the approaching visit to the United States of a distinguished Swedish onomatologist, Lektor Gösta Langenfelt. He has lectured widely at European universities during the past 35 years, and has also worked on the commission for the naming of the streets of Stockholm which Professor Utley calls "a fascinating task which should please American pragmatists by its beauty and efficiency." Dr. Langenfelt, whose address is Domherrevägen 7, Stockholm (Bromma), Sweden, has at least a dozen possible lectures which might be of interest to American audiences; his titles show his wide range of competence, for they include not only "Observations on West-

European Syntax" but "Fifty English Names for Sweden," "Shakespeare's Geographical Knowledge," "The Naming of Stockholm Streets," and "Lapland Sorcerers in English Literature." It is suggested that anyone wishing to make arrangements with Dr. Langenfelt write him directly. (Unfortunately, this information arrived too late for inclusion in the June issue of *Names*.)

Speaking of Sweden, a press release from the Swedish Information Office dated February 23, 1961 states that every year the Name Bureau in Stockholm approves approximately 1500 "new" family names — most of them replacing older patronymics. The problem, of course, is too many people with the same *-son* name; it is estimated that even though the Name Bureau has been at work on the matter since 1920, there are still at least 300,000 people in Sweden using each of the three most popular patronymics: Andersson, Johansson, and Carlsson (or Karlson). The Name Bureau has certain delicate discretionary powers and may reject a name that sounds ridiculous or is in some way felt to be offensive. Thus *Blondi* and *Cactus* have been turned down as have *Minsting* (i.e. 'littlest') and *Lejonbrus*. Christian names may also be changed with the approval of the Bureau, but this is not frequent, though the hardship of a young man named *Justus Canutus Germanus* was eased by the bureau when he was legally permitted to become *Knut Georg*.

* * *

ANS members, whose number is, happily, growing, are a varied lot; they are engaged in a great number of projects and activities, some of which are connected with onomastics and some of which are most definitely not. It would be impossible and inappropriate to convert these columns into a clearing house for chit-chat about the doings of the membership; but from time to time we will try to note among these pages some of their outstanding achievements, distinctions, and activities that might be of general interest to *Names* readers. Information on such matters is always welcome, though of course space limitations preclude our printing everything we might like to. Once a year, probably in the same issue that carries the archives contributors' names, we shall print a list of new members and, if the information is available, note briefly the special interest of each.

Former *Names* editor Erwin G. Gudde and his wife Elisabeth have recently published a translation of the journal of Heinrich Lienhard, a rich chronicle of the overland journey of five young men who went from St. Louis to Sutter's Fort in 1846. The Guddes' translation is volume 33 in the University of Oklahoma Press American Exploration and Travel Series, and was published in March, 1961.

The Virginia Place Name Society published the first in a series of Occasional Papers in February, 1961. It is "A Preliminary Bibliography of Virginia Place-Name Literature" and is the work of Professor Gary S. Dunbar of the Department of Geography at the University of Virginia. It incorporates items listed in the Seely-Sealock bibliographies and lists a number of others not noted there. The Society hopes eventually to publish a definite bibliography on Virginia Place Names as well as a volume of place names compiled from early Virginia literature and early maps. Membership is \$2.50 per year; further information is available from Mr. N. Harvey Deal, Reference Librarian, University Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.

University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Mass.

Audrey R. Duckert

HUMPHREY, Nebraska. Nancy Leach, who died February 6, 1891, wrote the following letter of December 25, 1871:

"Humphrey, Platte Co., Nebraska

My cousin Daniel: Where art thou? I shall never dare address you by way of letter again; What shall I tell you of Nebraska? Charley (my son-in-law) Roxanna and I own 160 acres a piece joining. It's just as handsome, good land as ever need to have been made. We live on the mail route from Madison to the city of Columbus. I am postmaster, also had the privilege of naming the Post office, so I called it Humphrey, after my native town: Here are prairie chickens, badgers, foxes, wolves, deer, elk and any number of antelopes. I never tasted an antelope but Riley shot one when we first came here. They are excellent eating. Riley saw 30 in one drove a short time ago. He has trapped 10 foxes by the hen coop and lost narry a hen. The winters are mild and usually very little snow but now and then a storm of wind and snow that is a storm indeed. Now Daniel please do write if only to answer these questions. If your mother still has her side saddle, will she sell it? If so what is the least money she will take for it, if I send it to her in a letter she can send it as freight. I paying the freightage. I expect Roxanna will teach next summer six miles from here and Charlie or I will let her have a horse to ride each day. From your forgotten cousin. Nancy Leach."

Nancy Leach named the town of Humphrey after her native town of Humphrey, New York. — The above letter was received from (Mrs. A. J.) Sera F. Rasmussen, 320 No. 22 St., Apt. 601, Omaha 2, Nebraska.

ANS Notes

NAMES TENTH ANNIVERSARY VOLUME

The journal *Names*, celebrating its tenth anniversary in 1962, invites papers, preferably shorter contributions (up to eight pages each), for its March and June 1962 issues from members as well as friends of the American Name Society and from fellow-onomatologists abroad. The deadline for sending in such papers is set for December 31, 1961, and the issues will appear in the spring and summer 1962.

ANS ANNUAL MEETING

Chicago, December 29–30, 1961

Program Chairman: Jack A. Dabbs, 1011 Edgemont, Bryan, Texas
Chairman of Local Arrangements: Elsdon C. Smith, 322 Sherman Avenue, Evanston, Illinois.

The *ANS dinner* at the Palmer House, Room 17, Friday, December 29, at 6:00 p.m. Cost \$5.54 per plate. Please make checks payable to Elsdon C. Smith (address above).

Reading of papers: Saturday, December 30, from 9:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m.

NAME INTERESTS AND PROJECTS OF THE MEMBERSHIP

In the invitation leaflet for the enrollment of new members in the American Name Society there stands the following remark: "If you are especially interested in any particular branch of the subject or are engaged in a research project, please indicate." Indeed, it is important to know of the extent and the variety of onomastic interests of our membership, for these interests constitute the strength of onomatology at present; in addition, the early knowledge of the various projects in progress is mutually advantageous both to the one conducting a project and to those who are interested in writing monographs, dissertations, and articles on details touching on the same subject. I suggest that every old and new member communicate his personal interests in names to our Secretary.

D. J. G.

American Name Society

Membership and Subscription Roster 1961

This list includes names and addresses of all individual and institutional members as of July 1, 1961.

Members and subscribers who have not paid the dues for 1961 are urgently requested to do so immediately in order to insure the uninterrupted delivery of *Names*.

Special interest in names is indicated by the following symbols:

- A - Personal and family
- B - Biblical
- C - Trademarks and tradenames
- D - Place (Geographic and Topographic)
- E - Foreign (Personal and place in or outside U.S.)
- F - Psychology of Names
- G - General
- H - Ships
- I - American Indian (personal and place)
- J - Jewish
- K - Slavic
- L - Literary
- M - Medical
- N - Bird and Plant

Sustaining Members are indicated by an asterisk *.

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Moral-Allegorical Names in Gracián's *Criticón*

HERMAN IVENTOSCH

THE STUDY OF INVENTED LITERARY NAMES has lagged far behind that of toponyms and historical family names, and yet imaginative literature has produced an uncommon number of names which not only achieved extensive common use (especially in the Renaissance) but from time immemorial have formed an important element of literary invention. I am concerned here with the particular case of moral-allegorical names in the foremost didactic work of the Spanish Baroque. They are of interest both because they illustrate a continuing historical phenomenon and because in the day of "mannered" literary techniques they came to be key ingredients in one writer's didacto-literary system.

A. "Agudeza nominal"

As Romera-Navarro has pointed out, the allegorical element is of utmost importance in the *Criticón*.¹ The grand scheme in the work is the voyage of man (Critilo and Andrenio) through life, a voyage complicated by innumerable encounters with personified virtues and vices, as well as with occasional historical personages, that are met on the way. The principals of this allegory and many of the minor actors are typified by invented names: 'honor' is *Honoría*, 'hypocrisy' *Hipocrinda*, etc. The practice of thus highlighting the essential nature of a character, or in this case of personifying man's principal virtues and vices, has been designated as the "only rhetorical device" which can be traced uninterruptedly to Homer,² and Gracián included it as a prime stylistic device in his *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (1642, 1648).

¹ Miguel Romera-Navarro, *Estudios sobre Gracián* (Austin, 1950), 73: "... [the allegorical element] está en el plan general del *Criticón* como elemento esencial, y está asimismo en un grupo numeroso de episodios como elemento accesorio."

² Gracián worked in a long tradition which stems from antiquity and continues through the Middle Ages. In Homer, we have for Odysseus *Strife* or the *Son of Hard-life Vexation*. Hector is similarly the *Shielder* and *Defender*. The tradition descends

In the *Agudeza* it is demonstrated that this stylistic device will seek not only the absolute creation of names but will, perhaps with preference and more often, adapt names hoary with antiquity, and with or without alteration, will find their "correspondence and correlation" which will make them adaptable to allegorical use.³ Gracián then implies that a higher *agudeza* will be achieved if the name is changed,⁴ that is, if by an alteration of the name (*Roma* reversed, *Amor*, the 'love' of the church), its potential *correspondencia* is more thoroughly plumbed.⁵ Hereby, an infinitude of new meanings may be revealed, and the practice will produce in the *Crítico Andrenio*, which probably combines *Andrés* and *Andronio*, even as it derives from Greek *anēr*, gen. *andrós* 'man'; *Sofisbella*,

through Pindar, Aeschylus, and Plato, to the Latins – Quintilian, Cicero, and Vergil – and to the Middle Ages. Augustine answers the question "Why is the apostle of the Gentiles named *Paulus*?" by saying that Paul is "minimus apostolorum;" and more concretely in Cassiodorus: "Etymologia est oratio brevis, per certas associationes ostendens ex quo nomine id quod quaeritur venerit nomen." St. Isidore, of course, elaborately treats the matter (I. 29) and it comes into the Renaissance through Dante to Calderón. See Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1953), 495f.

In Plato, a full-blown discussion of where names come from is offered by Socrates in the *Cratylus*. Socrates holds that the names of persons, if properly understood, that is, not confused by the corruption of words through time, will everywhere emerge from the nature itself of the person. This theory is remarkably similar to what Gracián says in the *Agudeza* (see note 6, "Dios"), and what Rafael Lapesa calls a "capricious etymology" in Isidore ("... dice que al gato se le llamaba *cattus* 'quia cattat, id est, videt,'" *Historia de la lengua española*, [Madrid, 1950], 71) is no more so than those in Plato and finally, even, Aristotle: "... when one says of Draco's Laws that they are those not of man but of a dragon" (quoted by Curtius, *op. cit.*, 495). Closer to Gracián's own day, the matter was again treated at length by Luis de León in *Los nombres de Cristo*, especially in the chapter "Los nombres en general" ("... el nombre es como imagen de la cosa de quien se dice, o la misma cosa disfrazada en otra manera ...") *Obras completas*, ed. Felix García [Madrid, 1944], 394). See also my articles, "Onomastic Invention in the *Buscón*," *Hispanic Review* 29 (1961), 15-32, and "Spanish Baroque Parody in Mock Titles and Fictional Names," to appear in *Romance Philology*.

³ *Obras completas* (Madrid, 1944), 182. Compare that, in the *Comulgatorio*, *Joaquín* is "la Preparación de Dios" and *Ana* is "la gracia" (*Obras*, p. 846). *Ana* suggests something quite different to Calderón: "What is the meaning of Marianne? '... tomando a Marte el Mar/Y a Diana el Ana, encierra/El nombre de Mar-y-Ana/Imperiosas excelencias'" (quoted by Curtius, *op. cit.*, 500).

⁴ "... si la cortan o trastruecan ..."; *Obras*, 183.

⁵ "... de cada sílaba renace una sutileza ingeniosa y de cada acento un concepto" (*ibid.*).

which fuses Greek *sophía* 'wisdom' with a popular seventeenth-century form of *Isabel*, *Isbella*; *Vegecia* 'Old-age,' which probably hearkens back to the likes of the Roman writer *Vegetius* (Sp. *Vegecio*), etc. Even the absolute inventions usually reveal some onomastic element: *Hipocrinda* 'hypocrisy' with the common name-suffix *-inda*, as *Lucinda*; or *Falimundo* 'falseness of the world' or 'world of the false,' but with *mundo* reflecting also the likes of *Rosamunda* and *Segismundo*, the stem, in Gracián, being Latinized in manneristic fashion back to the infinitive *fallere* rather than the participle *falsus*, the usual source of the Spanish derivatives.⁶ The idea of the mystery and hidden meanings of language undoubtedly goes back not only to Homer and Plato but also to the concept of the sacredness of language and the word, and the Jesuit Gracián does not hesitate to attribute to *Dios* his own private interpretation of the exalted term.⁷

B. *Andrenio-Critilo*, Gracián's *Vision of Man Personified*

Like *Crisi*, the chapter title name in the *Criticón*, the name *Critilo* is also derived from the Greek verb *krino*, 'judge.'⁸ Rescuing Andrenio from shipwreck, Critilo is his mentor, his guide, and much more — as we shall see — in the pilgrimage through life. He is, in brief, as his name conveys, the rational part of man, the part which by the divine gift of reason, may see the truth; who not only has the oft-mentioned Gracianesque qualities of practical conduct, but also possesses the vision necessary to avail himself of virtue in the pilgrimage toward salvation; he is the elite, thus, not only of the world, but also the "elite" part of man. The name *Cratilo* (Plato's

⁶ Cf. *Falerina*, Matteo M. Boiardo, *Orlando Innamorato*, in *Opere* (Milano, 1937), 2. 84; *Falirena*, Luis Barahona de Soto, *La Angelica* (1586) (New York, 1904), 9.

⁷ "... dividido está diciendo; Di os, Di os la vida, Di os la hacienda, Di os la tierra, Di os el cielo, Di os el ser, Di os mi gracia, Di os a mi mismo, Di os lo todo. . . de modo, que del dar, del hacernos todo bien, tomó el Señor su santísimo y augustísimo renombre de Dios en nuestra lengua española" (*Agudeza*, in *Obras*, 189).

⁸ "*Crisis* es un vocablo de naturaleza griega, de la facultad de la arte médica, que quiere decir 'juico' del verbo *crino* que es 'juzgar,'" quoted by Romera-Navarro from Antonio Liñán y Verdugo, *Guía y avisos de forasteros*, 1620 (Madrid, 1923), 215. References to the *Criticón* will be to the edition of Miguel Romera-Navarro, 3 volumes (Philadelphia, 1938/39/40). See my note 30 for a further discussion of Gracián's *crisi*.

Cratylus) probably provided a general onomastic mold for Gracián, as with a slight *trastrocar* it yields a new allusion. Its alteration on the basis of *krino*, *kritos*, gives the *correspondencia* to 'reason' and 'judgment' which the author requires.⁹

The name *Andrenio* likewise suggests its Greek origin (*anēr*, *andros*). Its form, as noted, probably emerges from both *Andrés* and *Andronio* (*Andronicus*), and in Gracián's scheme is symbolic of 'raw, untutored man.' He is Critilo's "otro yo" (I, 249), and almost any page will reveal variations on the "Andrenio," or the raw, unprincipled, carnal, ingenuous, etc., element in all men: Andrenio can be the simple one in search of wisdom (I, 258); he can be the head which is kicked about like a football: "... de hombres, digo, descabezados, más llenos de viento que de entendimiento..." (I, 257); or, as is illustrated when they approach Virtelia's palace, he can be the spontaneous and unreflective man who will not face the hardships of virtue: "¡No quiero montes! ¡Quita allá gigantes!" (I, 230).¹⁰ The name now reveals a greater dramatic and intellectual message. Gracián has created the name *Andrenio* 'man' because "man" has a particular significance in his semantics. "Man," the raw material, is distinguished regularly by the Jesuit from *persona*,

⁹ The two *Cratilos* that have come to my notice are Plato's *Cratylus*, certainly known to Gracián, and the son of the king of Bituania in the *Persiles* (*Obras completas*, [Madrid, 1946], 1763).

¹⁰ In addition: Andrenio is of course 'youth,' with its traditional connotation of heedlessness, in contrast to the "sabio Critilo," who is 'old-age': "la loca juventud" and "la vegez sabia" (III, 20); Andrenio is deceived by Hipocrinda and must be urged on by Critilo lest he remain with her (II, 245); he actually does stay behind with Falsirena 'sensuality' while Critilo goes on to the Escorial (I, 351). Arturo Fari-nelli's idea that the name *Andrenio* emerged from an *Ardenio* of Alonso de Ledesma, in his *Conceptos espirituales* (Madrid, 1600), is probably in error (ed. *El héroe, El discreto*, [Madrid, 1900], 233). *Ardenio* was a common pastoral name in the Renaissance, derived from the Ardennes Forest, common in the "Chansons de Geste." It appears in Salas Barbadillo, *Fiestas de la boda* (Madrid, 1622), fol. 63^r; Lope de Vega, *Laura perseguida*, in *Obras*, ed. Acad. N. (Madrid, 1916-30, VII, 110); *Ardenia*, Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, *La constante Amariñis* (Madrid, 1781), *passim*; etc. The "forest" allusion has suffered a marked alteration in the Renaissance pastoral. Originally, the Ardennes was a place of dread and danger. Cf. Charlemagne's encounter with the frightful leopard there: "Devers Ardene vit venir un leupart, son cors deménie fierement asalt," *Chanson de Roland*, ed. T. Atkinson Jenkins (New York, 1924), 61; or the *Robledo de Corpes* in the *Cid*. The medieval forest of danger has become a forest of joy by analogy with the ancient pastoral.

or "man" under control of reason.¹¹ In the *Criticón* (I, 350) Andrenio is called "hombre o bestia." The pilgrims are sometimes addressed: "Lástima me hacéis de veros *tan hombres y tan poco personas*" (II, 104); or again, after Artemia has constructed an individual from a wooden rod who "hablaba, de modo que le podía escuchar; discurría y valía, al fin, lo que bastaba *para ser persona*" (II, 104). *Andrenio*, thus, translates Spanish *hombre* with its exact etymological meaning from rare Latin *homo* 'gross man' (see any good Latin lexicon). As Jansen points out (p. 14), *hombre* may sometimes include an additional attribute, "hombres substanciales y de fondo" (I, 245), or "hombres de veras" (*ibid.*), in which instance it becomes equivalent to *sabio*, *persona*, and the rest. But *hombre* alone cannot convey a "real human being" (*wirklicher Mensch*), and is generally equivalent to just "man" — the flesh, the instincts (see *Falsirena*) — or "animal," as noted above. The effect of the name *Andrenio*, then, is to abstract all the qualities which Gracián associates with simple "man," and to portray them onomastically in the individual who depicts them. We have seen only a fraction of the characteristics which Andrenio exhibits. His name is a dramatic summation of them all.

Critilo, meanwhile, is Ariel forever struggling against him, never with entire success. The name *Critilo* — 'judge,' 'rational man' — synthesizes the various Gracianesque notions of *sabio*, *héroe*, *persona*, and the rest, while the act of combining him and *Andrenio*, his "otro yo," probably reflects orthodox Christian polarized man as Critilo pursues his task of education of his baser self (*Andrenio*). In any instance, the pair highlight Gracián's dualistic concept of man. *Critilo* "higher man" is equipped with the Stoical qualities (Gracián carries on the immemorial task of attempting to reconcile pagan and Christian thought) of prudence, moderation, and impassivity, as Gracián, like Mateo Alemán, arms Christian man with extraordinary powers of 'judgment' to enable him to cope with the universal deceit around him (Baroque *desengaño*).¹² (Note 12 on page 220)

¹¹ Hellmut Jansen's *Die Grundbegriffe des Baltasar Gracián* (Genève, 1958) treats the concept of *persona* in Gracián at length, tracing the initial medieval establishment of its meaning to Boethius, thence to Aquinas, and to Covarrubias in Gracián's own day: "Persona, segun los Filósofos, . . . 'est naturae rationalis individua substantia'" (see especially pp. 10–14). They of course elaborate the late Latin acceptance of 'real person,' after its original meaning of 'mask' and 'actor.' See also Hans Rheinfelder, *Das Wort "persona." Geschichte seiner Bedeutungen* (Halle, 1928).

C. Queens and Courts, the Main Figures

Artemia. The exterior resemblance of this name to *arte* makes it possible under the canon of "agudeza nominal" for her to personify the 'arts' or 'reason.' It should be noted that the form is one of two (with *Honorio*) that corresponds to "agudeza nominal" without a *trastrocar*; or should we say, that the *trastrocar* is entirely mental, the traditional form of the name being maintained intact. But a bold *correspondencia* is effected by supposing the name to be compounded from *arte*, especially since it had already acquired a traditional literary usage, with perhaps no allusive content except occasionally to 'virginity' (from *Artemis*).¹³ *Artemia*, reminiscent of the long tradition of the Liberal Arts, will achieve miracles, as did they: she converts the "villano zafio" to "cortesano galante"; the *vizcaino* to "eloquente secretario" (the language of Biscayans was parodied in Spain, as is well known, from Lope de Rueda, through Cervantes, to modern times); and she makes a "César de un escribano," "hombres graves" from "hombres muy livianos." This queen is a worker of prodigious deeds; and to climax her feats, she produces "un hombre que discurría" from a wooden rod (all quotations from I, 251–253). The ideal of the Liberal Arts (see Curtius, p. 42) in both Antiquity and the Middle Age as the glory of man's mind and as bequeathed by God (M.A.) lived in Gracián

¹² Cf. J. García López, *Baltasar Gracián* (Barcelona, 1947), 45–46: "Prudencia, moderación, impasibilidad, son, por sí solas, virtudes de claro abolengo estoico; pero Gracián es un hombre de su siglo; y lo prueba la presencia en sus obras de uno de los temas capitales de la moral de la época barroca: la idea del desengaño. Como Calderón y tantos otros, cree que la inteligencia, la razón y la moral filosofía conducen siempre a la virtud porque son ellas las que nos advierten la inanidad de todo lo terreno . . ."

¹³ Two saints, *Artemia* and *Artemio* (*Artemius*, d. 362), bear forms of this name. See S. Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints* (Edinburgh, 1914). In the Renaissance, however, the name seems to have been associated with reminiscences of *Artemis*, by way of the popular Spanish *Artemisia* and *Artemisa*. This is the message of the name in the *Seraphina* (1525), where the virgin-designation has an ironic use (Madrid, 1874, *passim*). The figure represented, an old woman of loose morals, is depicted as absolutely virtuous and virginal, but the opposite turns out to be true as the story unfolds. Socrates speculates on *Artemis*' name in the *Cratylus*: "Artemis appears to get her name from her healthy . . . and well-ordered nature, and her love of virginity; or perhaps he who named her meant that she is learned in virtue . . . or possibly, too, that she hates sexual intercourse . . . of man and woman" (London, 1953, 81).

as he used this name. *Artemia* means quite simply, then, 'reason,' and although she is once called *Saber* (I, 262), the broad symbolism of 'wisdom' is reserved for *Sofisbella*. *Artemia*, thus, synthesizes a prime motif in Gracián: she symbolizes the absolutely miraculous power of reason; she creates a man who not only *discurría* but thereupon also *valía* (I, 253). She is seen to be, of all the queens, perhaps the "queen of queens," since she represents in essence the same glorification of 'reason' and 'judgment' that is typified by *Critilo*.

Falimundo. The derivation of this name has already been analyzed. He is *engaño* 'deception,' and is vaguely conceived of as a monarch with a "Babilonia, que no corte" (I, 250) where *Andrenio* is held captive. As might be expected, there is only one defense against this evil potentate — logically *Artemia* 'reason,' who assures *Critilo*, playing again upon the *arte* in her name, that "... no nos ha de faltar *ardid* contra el engaño" (I, 250).

The treatment of these various allegorical names now permits us to make a generalization on them and *Falimundo*, a generalization which has been suggested in reference to *Andrenio* and which will apply generally to the other principal allegorical figures. It has been mentioned that sometimes specifically, sometimes only vaguely — as here, with *Falimundo* — the allegorical personages are kings, queens, and the like. It follows that rulers have courts, and that courts have courtiers and their other sundry retainers around them. Gracián has given the invented names to the monarchs of successive courts, the *primor* of the "agudeza nominal" being reserved for the chief figures who, in their position of eminence, have sway over many followers. The followers, accordingly, portray the various components of the major vice (or virtue) which is abstracted and synthesized by the fantastic ruler-appellation. We have mentioned how *Andrenio* may synthesize all qualities which Gracián associates with "man." *Deceit*, too, is a broad concept, and at the "juegos bacanales" at the "Babilonia, que no corte" of *Falimundo*, the whole throng attend: "... la vulpeja salía con máscara de cordero, la serpiente de paloma, el usurero de limosnero, ... el adúltero de amigo del marido, ..." (I, 254). The "agudeza nominal," a thing of wit and beauty, is consciously given to the main virtues and vices, to the 'crises' of man's life, while the infinite components of these virtues and vices — here courtiers — maintain everywhere

their direct names — *la Lujuria, la Codicia, la Justicia* — as personified qualities, or the unpersonified ones shown above for Falimundo. This process, we think, is of striking originality in Gracián.¹⁴ *Artemia* could have been simply *el Saber*, and was briefly so called, as we have seen. But *Artemia*, by virtue of historical reminiscence and sex (*Artemis*), is a queen, and can rule over many subjects, the components of the 'arts.' Falimundo might have been *el Engaño*, but the onomastic ending in *-mundo*, as well as its geographic connotation (see "Conclusion"), and the opportunity to Latinize the stem, proves both more *agudo*, more regal, hence more synthetic, since he can be endowed with a court — and thus more efficient intellectually and more dramatic novelistically than the direct name. In the allegorical voyage the high points and stops along the road are signaled by the *primor* of an "agudeza nominal."

Falsirena. Unlike *Falimundo*, *Falsirena* points to the traditional Spanish derivation from the participle *falsus* (Spanish *falso*) which form is dictated by the initial *s* of *sirena*, the key concept of the personage who will represent 'woman,' "False" and a "Siren." The heavy medieval reflection would be overbearing did not Gracián qualify it by saying his Siren represents "la mala muger" (I, 350). The functions of the Sirens in Homer are of course commonplaces of Western literature and, as such, make available to Gracián a wealth of images with which to express his Christian sensuality, his "mundo, demonio, carne" (I, 351). The Sirens appear, first, with their sisters, the "furias, parcas. . . arpías . . ." (I, 351). *Falsirena*'s palace coalesces with Circe's pigsty, where Andrenio is discovered on the ground with other victims. In short, a series of traditional antique pictures is evoked by the name *Falsirena* to personify Gracián's Christian distrust of the flesh; and we are again reminded of the reconciliation, or attempted reconciliation, which had been going

¹⁴ In the cousin "novel" to the *Criticón*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's progress* (1677), the qualities of men parade unadorned: *Obstinate, Pliable, Christian, Worldly Wisdom*, who dwells in *Carnal Policy* (London, 1928), etc. The *autos* of Calderón use similar direct appellation, with less pin-pointing of small qualities and larger conceptualization: *Amor, Pureza, Sencillez* in *Psiquis y Cupido; Esperanza, Caridad, and Fe*, the "Theological Virtues," in *Nuevo hospicio de pobres. Autos Sacramentales* (Madrid, 1759), I. Tirso follows a like pattern in his *autos*: in the *Colmenero divino, el Cuerpo, el Placer, el Mundo* (the same symbolization, essentially, as Gracián's *Falimundo*), etc.; in *Los hermanos parecidos, Admiración, Engaño, Temor, Envidia, Justicia*, etc. *Obras dramáticas completas*, ed. Blanca de los Ríos (Madrid, 1946), I, 5, 1580, *resp.*

on since the early Middle Ages, of the Antique and Christian imagination. Most of these allegorical personages — principals, as noted, on the pilgrimage — do not appear again once they have been seen (except *Felisinda* 'happiness,' who will draw the pilgrims on throughout the novel); but *Falsirena*, long after her principal action, almost at the end of the voyage (III, 411), is recalled as having been a necessary test on the road to virtue: "... el escarmiento en la casa de *Falsirena*."¹⁵

Felisinda. There are numerous names fashioned on *felix*, *-icis*.¹⁶ The meaning of the root, 'joyous,' defines her mission in the *Criticón* as both doctrinal 'happiness' and as the amorous object of Critilo and Andrenio. Like *Falimundo*, *Falsirena*, and others, she exhibits a compound name, *Felis-inda*, which combines both 'joyous' and the common onomastic suffix *-inda*, as in *Lucinda*. But the *correspondencias* are more ample in "agudeza nominal." It is probably hardly accidental that "happiness" emerges from and is constantly recalled by the reader as having been associated with remote India, nor that this allegorical personification of happiness should have a name terminating with *-inda*, which is not only suffix but directly relevant to 'India.'¹⁷ *Felisinda* might thus have a message of

¹⁵ *Sirena*, to be sure, need not necessarily be a configuration of vice; elsewhere it may suggest simple feminine allure; e.g. Tirso, *El pretendiente al revés* and *Celos con celos se curan* (*Obras*, II, 230, 1333, *resp.*). Gracián's use of the name stems substantially from the medieval systems of allegory which attempted to reconcile pagan mythology to the Christian order: "Circe es aquella pasión natural que llaman amor deshonesto, que las más veces transforma a los más sabios y de mayor juicio en animales fierísimos y llenos de furor . . . Por Ulises se entiende la parte de nuestra ánima que participa de la razón [since he defied Circe and the Sirens] . . ." Juan Pérez de Moya, *Philosophia Secreta* (Madrid, 1928), 219.

¹⁶ Variations, also with *s*, are: *Felisso*, José Camerino, *Novelas amorosas*, ed. Fernando Gutiérrez (Barcelona, 1955), 59; *Felesindos*, Alonso Núñez de Reinoso, *Amores de Clareo y Floriseo* (apud Romera-Navarro, *Criticón*, I, 157, note). Cf. Tirso's *Lisida* from Vergil's *Lycidas*, *Los cigarrales de Toledo* (Madrid, 1624), 67. With the etymological *x* and *c*, however, are the following: *Felices*, a picaresque appellation in Gonzalo Céspedes y Meneses, *El Soldado Píndaro*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori (Madrid, 1906), 319; *Flora Felix* in the *Persiles* (*Obras*, p. 1657); *Felixmarte* in the *Quijote* (*Obras*, p. 1158); and, of course, innumerable *Felicias* (already used in Rome), *Felicianas* (masc. and fem.), etc. The forms with the non-etymological *s* are perhaps constructed by analogy with such forms as the Germanic *Rudesindo*, *Hormesinda* (*Armesinda* in Castillo Solórzano, *La quinta de Laura*, [Madrid, 1732], 86).

¹⁷ Romera-Navarro, I, 157, note. Cf. Adolph Coster: "Jeu de mots sur Felix Inda?," "Baltasar Gracián," *Revue Hispanique*, 29 (1913), 520, note.

'happiness in India,' or 'happiness remote and inaccessible,' since this is precisely the quality she personifies, the unattainability of happiness on earth to Christian man.¹⁸

— En vano, ¡ o peregrinos del mundo, pasajeros de la vida! os cansáis en buscar desde la cuna a la tumba esta vuestra imaginada Felisinda, que el uno llama esposa, el otro madre: ya murió para el mundo y vive para el cielo. Hallarla heis allá, si la supiérades merecer en la tierra (III, 294).

The name *Felisinda* thus compliments in onomastic terms the doctrinal material cited above, even though, like Artemia, her name might occur as an ordinary feminine denomination. (See *Felesindos* below.) A semi-amorous and novelistic slant is given to the sermon by this love-quest after *Felisinda*, but its connection with the doctrinal matter is obvious. At the court of *Hipoerinda*, where of course the "lovers" seek *Felisinda* out, they must leave empty-handed, since certainly "la verdadera felicidad" (II, 246) is not to be found there, but only at the implied end of the pilgrimage, death, and the contemplation of the divine.

Hipoerinda, Virtelia: These two queens are treated together since they are closely associated in the text.

Hipocrinda represents 'hypocrisy,' and will be best explained here in her function as "queen vice" (see *Falimundo*, and the attendant explanation of the system of "vice-monarchs"), the queen in whose court pullulate *la Simonía, la Usura, el Festejo* (II, 232), specific "hypocrisies," and especially the "falso hermitaño y verdadero embustero," commonplace for religious hypocrisy.¹⁹ The function of queen for a prime vice has been efficacious up to this point, but as we reach "hypocrisy" Gracián finds it expedient to consider her also as the Mother Superior of a convent (II, 233), since the first hypocrisy to our Jesuit is the religious one. Thus the abstraction of *Hipocrinda* "rules" over an additional series of specific hypocrites: the false hermit, a false priest, a gluttonous priest, false alcalde, and finally, a *professo*, who "más . . . huele a ladrón que a monge" (II,

¹⁸ The orient, then and now, was a commonplace for "vast distance away." Well known are the misgivings about Columbus' sailing to India, that he might fall off the edge of the world, etc.

¹⁹ See Romera-Navarro, II, 228, note.

234), all these being concretions of the major vice typified by Hipocrinda. In the religious and moral sphere, however, the aim of hypocrisy is the cloak of *virtue*, and our "falso hermitaño" will accordingly stand athwart the path and urge the pilgrims away from one who is designated "alma de la alma, vida de la vida . . . realce de todas las prendas, corona de las perfecciones, y perfección de todo el ser" (II, 225), Queen Virtelia.

The regal personification, as well as the suggestion of the devoted search ("... donde quiera que se halla es hermosa, y por esso tan estimada" II, 225), is maintained in her. *Virtelia* 'virtue,' however, is perhaps the queen most pregnant with allegorical possibilities: the path to her palace is an ascent, symbolical of the vices and also of the trials to be endured in achieving virtue: "Vamos . . . en busca de aquella flor de reinas, la hermosa Virtelia, que nos dizen mora aquí en lo alto de un monte, en los confines del cielo . . ." (II, 229). Such a goal is reminiscent of either the Christian pilgrim through life, or the knight errant. *Virtelia* must have a guide to her palace, as *Hipocrinda* did to hers; and this guide is, logically, *Lucindo*, a name — like *Artemia* — of a traditional form, given here with a new *correspondencia*, "light," or "varón de luces," who, as a counterpart for wisdom, will 'light' the way to virtue (II, 300). Moreover, *Virtelia* has the most peopled court of all the characters: *la Sabiduría*, *la Paciencia*, *la Justicia*, *la Equidad*, *la Castidad*, *la Honestidad*, *la Sagacidad*, "gran ministra de Virtelia" (II, 315), all these are "virtue," and all are courtiers to Queen *Virtelia*. Finally, *Virtelia* is a "queen judge." Reminiscent of Solomon or Portia, she sits on a throne of justice (*la Justicia* is a handmaiden of hers, as noted) and answers pleas for boons: e.g., she gives courage to the soldier; skill to the priest in praying, to the farmer in planting, etc. The *agudeza* *Virtelia* stands as a beacon mark on man's pilgrimage through life, while all attendant "virtues" throng around her to explain what virtue is to the *vulgus*.²⁰

²⁰ It is tempting to relate the deliberateness of this homiletic method, the statement of the main thesis by an *agudeza*, and the subsequent expansion and clarification of the thesis by unaltered personified nouns (*la Lujuria*, etc.), to Gracián's inheritance from Loyola and Jesuit educational procedures. For a long discourse on Gracián, the moral teacher, after Loyola, see Andrés Rouveyre, *El español Baltasar Gracián y Federico Nietzsche*, trans. Ángel Dumarega (Madrid, n. d.), pp. 33–35, 105–125. The markedly Stoical cast of most of the "virtues" in attendance around

Honorio. As the reader knows, an *Honorius* was a Roman emperor of the West (A.D. 395–423) and an *Honorio* the licentious daughter of Valentinian who refused marriage with Attila the Hun. Many others doubtless exist, and the name is of such common stuff, both in ancient and modern times, that the measure of innovation in Gracián is small.²¹ The fact of her regal personification is supplemented by the attendant appearance of the celebrated and feared Momus, whose presence here will take us again into the ancient world as well as into the well-known seventeenth century conception of honor. For Honorio is represented as dwelling in a palace of glass, so that we are here reminded of the “honor play” and of Lope and Calderón.²² The Roman deity was styled *Honos* or *Honor*, but Gracián creates a feminine deity with deliberate effect. As a woman, she will serve several functions impossible to an allegorizing *Honor*. On the one hand, since it is Gracián’s intention to disclose that there is *no* honor left in the world, Momus will step forward and say that, since Honorio is a woman, it is doubtful that she really represents what her name designates: “Muger y buena, y en esta era? Yo lo dudo. Yo las conozco a todas . . . y no hallo cosa buena . . .” (II, 332). An additional classical reference will now be to regard Honorio as the mother of an “honorable” son, Pedro Pablo Zapata, the former governor of Aragón, whose exile signifies the departure of all “honor” from life (II, 236). Many deities might be suggested as models of this mother and son, but Aphrodite and Eros, the son gaining his qualities from his mother, is the likely inspiration for Honorio and Zapata. The conclusion here is that the only “Honorio”

Virtelia, plus the absence of those much to be desired “theological” virtues — faith, hope, and charity — may have influenced Gracián’s ecclesiastical superiors to discipline our author after the publication of the *Criticón*. Cf. Azorín, *Lecturas españolas* (Edinburgh, n.d.), 104.

“Virtues” are of course plentiful in the *autos*: *la Justicia*, *el Amor*, *la Pureza*, *la Sencillez*, *la Sabiduría*, *la Razón*, etc., but no *la Virtud* appears anywhere in Tirso or Calderón. Indeed, the *Criticón* has something of the aspect of a prose *auto*, the abstractions of Calderón rarified even further in such as *Virtelia*: “En realidad, la estructura técnica de *El Criticón* parece la de un auto sacramental, sin necesidad de recordar . . . las piezas de colegio, que quizá hubiese representado alguna vez el mismo Gracián.” José Manuel Blecua, *El estilo de “El Criticón”* (Zaragoza, 1945), 15.

²¹ There is an *Honorio*, a *godo*, in *La virgen de Guadalupe*, attributed to Cervantes (*Obras*, p. 1869), here associated with Alaric, Theodored, and other famous Gothic names.

²² Peribáñez styles honor *vidrio* or *caña* in the famous play of the same name.

possible is attainable in books and libraries, in the typical Stoic notion that the only personal integrity possible is in wisdom and in freedom from human passion. That *Honoría*, like *Felisinda*, eludes man's search, is a seeming reference to a contemporary earthly state, the seventeenth century in Spain, and not, as in *Felisinda*, a description of the divine plan.

Sofisbella. Gracián again seeks out the Greek lexicon to fashion the name of the queen who will personify 'wisdom.' The whole name combines the Greek *soph-* with a special form of *Isabel*, Gracián, like many writers of his time, transforming the Spanish *-bel* to the Italian *-bella*, to produce the Spanish sense of 'beautiful,' thus 'wisdom beautiful.'²³ Each queen discussed so far has represented a maximum vice or virtue in the Christian's pilgrimage on earth; *Sofisbella* does the same: "Venimos . . . en busca de una reina que si por gran dicha la topamos, nos han asegurado que con ella hallaremos quanto bien se puede desear. Y aun decía uno que todos los bienes le habían entrado a la par con ella" (II, 104).²⁴ What with *Critilo*, the 'critic,' and *Artemia*, the 'arts,' *Sofisbella*, 'glorious wisdom,' is a sort of culmination of the others. We now have reached, in a sense, the highest plane of earthly attainment, with only *Vegecia*, 'old-age,' ahead of us, and even she, of course, will offer — as her greatest boon — wisdom (see below). It is, then, crucial that *Sofisbella*, like *Felisinda* and *Honoría*, be beyond man's reach in this bitterest of all worlds; she dwells only, finally, in that sacred precinct, the library, "tesoro de la memoria . . . no hay gusto como el leer, ni centro como una selecta librería" (II, 165–166). The absence of *Sofisbella* climaxes the bitter scene: "... se huyó al cielo con las demás virtudes, en aquella fuga general de *Astrea*" — indeed, she had once left her gift in the mind of a few "sabios, mas aun esos se acabaron" (II, 200).

²³ The transformation of *Isabel* to *Isbella*, to introduce an ending suggestive of 'beautiful,' was a popular device and occurs in the following: Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, *Jornadas alegres* (Madrid, 1909), 331; Tirso de Molina, *Los cigarrales de Toledo* (Madrid, 1624), 73; Pedro de Castro y Anaya, *Las auroras de Diana* (C'ombra, 1654), 231. A further alteration is *Isbela*, in Baltasar Altamirano, *La firmeza en los imposibles* (Zaragoza, 1646), *passim*.

²⁴ Romera-Navarro lists two traditional sources for this: *Book of Wisdom*, VII, 7 and 11: "... et venit in me spiritus sapientiae . . . venerunt autem mihi omnia bona pariter cum illa." Also Horace, *Epistles*, I, 1: "Ad summam, sapiens uno minor es praecipue sanus" (II, 104, note).

Vegecia. The important fact regarding *Vegecia* is not so much that her name suggests the Roman writer *Vegetius* (Spanish *Vegecio*),²⁵ although this is generally a necessary attribute of the invented name, but that she is thereupon coupled with *Janus*, the Roman deity of the two doors. Through these doors will pass the two possibilities of man — those typified by *Andrenio* and *Critilo* — one through the door of *horrores*, or just the decrepitude of old age, and the other, *Critilo*, through the door of *honores*, or the wisdom accessible to some in old age (III, 24–25). The name *Vegecia*, unproductive of any allusion beyond the exterior resemblance to *vejez*, in addition to the reminiscence of *Vegetius*, must perforce be combined with *Janus*, so that Gracián, when necessary, can conceive of a variation on his *agudeza nominal*, namely, the creation of a sort of *Vegecia-Jano*, the original *agudeza* expanded with an additional antique name to fulfill the allegorical picture which the author seeks.²⁶ Queen *Vegecia*, the *honores* part of her, commands a large retinue, the qualities of whom she keynotes and synthesizes, in the Gracianesque technique we have described: *La Cordura, la Autoridad, el reposo* (the uncapitalized names are no different in allegorical function than those capitalized), *el assiento, la madurez, la prudencia, la gravedad, la entereza* (III, 45).

²⁵ Among all the Roman writers who are frequently mentioned by Renaissance authors, the famous author of the military tract appears comparatively little. Quevedo uses his name to mock the pretensions of the cultists: "Si se ofreciere decir: 'No vengo apercebida,' dirá: 'Vengo inerme'; y encomiéndose a Vegecio." *La culta latiniparla*, in *Obras en prosa*, ed. Luis Astrana Marín (Madrid, 1941), 788.

²⁶ Rather than any suggestion of 'prudence' (Romera-Navarro, III, 24, note), Gracián uses the image in its original antique symbolism of "God of the Two Gates," this picture affording him, with its connotation of youth and age, the allegory of old-age which he seeks, its *horrores* and *honores*, and the respective places of *Andrenio* and *Critilo* in them: "... distantes por ser una la puerta de los honores y la otra de los horrores . . ." (III, 32). *Janua* 'doorway, arch, way.' Baltasar de Vitoria similarly rejects a moralistic interpretation of the god: "Deste pintura [depicting the god as deity of coinage because of his two-fold nature] han tratado muchos autores, trayendo infinidad de moralidades; yo como me he resuelto a no traer ninguna en este libro, las dexo para los Mitológicos, que hazen juicio a montón, y se hartan de predicar" (I, 9). For an additional employment of the God cf. "... E tanto pacificó el mundo de males, que tovo cerrado las puertas de Jano." Juan de Mena, *Laberinto de fortuna* (Madrid, 1951), 112, and note of the Brocense: "... cuyas puertas, si estaban abiertas era señal que había guerras y si estaban cerradas avía paz."

D. Minor Allegorical Figures

Wherever convenient, Gracián turns also to name conceits for his minor characters. We have already mentioned *Lucindo* as the "varón de luces," symbol of wisdom and guide to Virtelia.²⁷ There is also an *Egenio* (Latin *egenus* 'deserving, needing'), whose name is qualified by Gracián: "... este era su nombre, ya definición" (I, 366).²⁸ He is thus named because he has a sixth sense, considering that "necessity" "... es ingeniosa, inventiva...", or as English has it, the "mother of invention" comprises a sense additional to the usual five.²⁹ *Volusia* (from the Roman jurist *Volusius*, in preference to the popular *Volupia* or *voluptas*) 'sensuality' compliments the functions of Falsirena (I, 320).

The majority of the minor inventions are dedicated, however, to a favorite antipathy of the severe Jesuit: to the *Buena Miel*, as he styles the individual lacking in self-assertion and independence. There are a variety of these characters: a *Pachorra* 'phlegm, indolence,' whose very lethargy prevents the exercise of self-assertion; *Don Fulano de Macapán* 'Sir Candy' or 'Sir Creampuff'; *Buenas Entrañas*, *Canónigo Blandura*,³⁰ *Dexado*, "y bien dexado de todos"; similarly, *Juan de Buen Alma*, *Boncampaño*, *Buen Hombre*, *Hombre de su Palabra* (all from III, 184-186). The very number of these

²⁷ It is interesting to note the alteration of the traditional as Gracián seeks new correspondencias. *Lucinda*, or *Luscinda*, as in the *Quijote*, proceeds also from *lux*, *lucis* (similarly, *Lucela*, *Lucenda*, *Lucendra*, *Lucerino*, *Lucino*, *Luzimena*, etc.), but refers to the radiance and light of physical beauty. Radiance and light for the Jesuit, however, belong to another province, to the mind and spirit. Perceivable again are the antique and medieval reminiscences. Another guide of the period takes his name from *lux*, *lucis*: *don Lucido* (*Luzido*) guides a resurrected Menippus through an insane asylum on the moon; each *lunático* they visit is a different type of poet; the name here suggests not only the function of the guide, but reveals that he is the only sane one on the moon. See Anastasio Pantaleón de Rivera, "Vexamen que el poeta dió en la Insigne Academia de Madrid," in *Obras* (1631) (Madrid, 1670), fol. 87^vf.

²⁸ This is the name Curtius uses to trace the stylistic device of allusive names from Homer to "Spanish Mannerism" (p. 500).

²⁹ See Romera-Navarro (I, 366, note) for a similar idea in Italian. Gracián, however, attributes the notion to his friend Miguel Dicastillo, author of the *Aula de Dios* (Zaragoza, 1637): "A la necesidad, apodó un sexto sentido" (*Agudeza*, in *Obras*, 234).

³⁰ Referring to Manuel de Salinas, former friend of Gracián, according to Romera-Navarro (III, 186, note; wherein, in the *Discreto*, he is depicted as constantly saying: "assí es; es tan cierto esso," etc.).

names verifies the Jesuit's particularly violent scorn for the soft and the passive, and these personal traits can doubtless be grouped with those that Gracián feels impede the exercise of judgment and criterion.

Various other evils are also onomastically portrayed: a *Buñuelo de Viento* is a windy preacher; treacherous and false qualities are represented by *Raposo* and *Tracillas*, and a *Duque de Bernardina*.³¹ *Marrajo* 'uncouth' is considered by Romera-Navarro to refer again to Salinas,³² and an *Infanta doña Toda* is reduced by Gracián to *doña Nada* in a mockery of the pretension of lineage.

Clearly, the *primores* of the "agudeza nominal" are reserved in general for very special figures, the few unimportant ones above to the contrary notwithstanding. This is a process which we have already commented on and which we will summarize now.

E. Summary, the Sermon

Since it is clear that the invented names are given to the principal allegorical personages, let us see, briefly, the system we may extract from them. *Critilo* and *Andrenio* are of course *Man*; and *Man*, not a eulogy of reason or a critique of the world's evil, is the subject of the *Criticón*.³³ More than *Man*, indeed, the conduct of Christian

³¹ Inspired by the expression, "decir bernardinas": "Bernardinas son unas razones que ni atan ni desatan, y no sinificando nada. Pretende el que las dize, con su disimulación, engañar a los que le están oyendo. Pienso tuvo su origen de algún mentecato llamado Bernardino, que razonando dezía muchas cosas sin que una se atasse con otra." Sebastián de Covarrubias y Horozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Barcelona, 1943). A possible source of the expression is from "*Bernart*, nombre del asno en *Le Roman de Renart*." Joan Corominas, *Diccionario etimológico crítico de la lengua española* (Mexico, 1948).

³² Probably clear proof that Gracián felt strongly against Salinas, if it refers to him, since *marrajo* is an emphatic word: Quevedo, "El padre, que era marrajo . . .", referring to a well-known lout in the *Cuento de cuentos* (op. cit., 794). Castillo Solórzano, ". . . el marrajo y mal hermitaño . . .", *La garduña de Sevilla*, BAE, 33.217.

³³ See Otis H. Green, "On the Meaning of 'Crisi(s)' before the *Criticón*," *Hispanic Review*, 21 (1953), 218-220. In addition to *Criticón* 'Libro de críticas,' bearing in mind the almost negligible possibility that Gracián intends but one nuance in a word of this importance, it may be suggested that *criticón* and *crisi* also expound man's search for virtue through truth, and emphasize the demands of the spirit against the flesh: "So wie ja auch die Abschnitte des "Criticón" in "Crisis" zerfallen, d.h. in Erlebnisse, aus denen moralische Entscheidungen entspringen müssen." Werner Krauss, *Gracián's Lebenslehre* (Frankfurt a.M., 1947), 38. Gracián's *crisi*, thus, 'moral crisis.'

man is the subject of the novel. The *Criticón*, then, in all senses of the word, is a grave sermon, albeit with a special emphasis on worldly and profane activity; a definition of what man's nature is, *Critilo* and *Andrenio*, and what his actions should be in this most evil of all worlds.³⁴

But man must dwell briefly on earth. This fact is symbolized by the presence of *Falimundo*, who is emblematic not just of the 'falseness of the world,' or the 'world of the false,' but *of* the world. The world is of course "false" to the believing Christian. *Falimundo* will personify, with *Falsirena*, the emptiness of corporeal existence. *Falsirena* has a somewhat complex function, but her basic nature is a shallow disguise for "life itself." Gracián, to be sure, embellishes his sermon with varied tales of temptation and lust, as we have seen, in the pictures drawn from the remote Sirens and Circe. But the end product is a *Falsirena*, partly, to be sure, in the Medieval sense, signifying the female corruption of man, but more important, a *Falsirena* who is corporeal existence itself, "mundo, demonio, carne," in Gracián's own words (I, 351).

If, then, the names noted depict man and his state in the world, there stands the "flower" of Queens, *Virtelia*, opposed to them. Up to this point we have, in a sense, treated what we may call the negative aspects of man's passage on earth. Is there no positive element to man's life? There is only one, says Gracián, virtue. Virtue, as

³⁴ The writer of this article is aware of the long history of argument over the orthodoxy, or the lack of it, in Gracián's treatment of Christian morality: the controversy extends from Gracián's ecclesiastical contemporaries (see note 17) to Karl Vossler in this century. Critics have pointed out the absence of religious considerations in the novel, and stressed its conclusion in the "pagan" arena of worldly fame rather than in the lap of salvation. On the one hand, there are those who accept the orthodoxy of the Jesuit and point out the needlessness of his insisting on dogmatic truths which were accepted by all (see esp. Romera-Navarro, "Sobre la moral de Gracián," *Hispanic Review*, 3 (1935), 119-126). At the opposite pole is Karl Vossler, who asserts: "... los males de la vida son [for Gracián], más bien que un problema filosófico, un tema literario, y los abusos de su pueblo y sociedad son, más bien que un objeto y asunto de reforma, una muy bien venida ocasión de esparcir sales, conceptos y parábolas . . .". "Los motivos satíricos en la literatura del Siglo de Oro," *Cruz y Raya*, 8 (1933), 20. Both the underlying Christian morality and the high didactic purpose are demonstrated, it is hoped, by this study, which would support Werner Krauss in his contention that "... es rein unmöglich [ist] sein moralisierendes Grundanliegen in den Wind zu schlagen und als bloße Verbrämung des spielerischen Kunsttriebs abzutun" (*op. cit.*, 36).

we have said, is a complex concept, so that the components thereof — including even such daring concepts as the famous “*santa astucia*” — as if a homiletic explanation from the pulpit, teem through her court. *Virtelia* ‘virtue’ is a real and attainable end for man, but instead he seeks *Felisinda* ‘joy’ (Critilo, too), in his weak flesh, but of course in vain. As noted, she spans the novel, giving it movement forward until *Vegecia* ‘old age’ is reached. *Vegecia* is crucial since she symbolizes man’s last and best chance for wisdom, after “*la loca juventud*” has passed. The place of reason and wisdom has been amply discussed here. *Artemia* and *Sofisbella* are at once a doubling of the emphasis on this imperative demand and a distinct reflection of the medieval preoccupation with *scientia* and *sapientia* (cf. Augustine’s lengthy researches on them; see Curtius, p. 40), and again attest the Jesuit’s respect for the stoic’s stand, even while neither queen is to be found on earth.

Honoría and *Hipocrinda* remain for our consideration. The absence of the first, with the bitter acknowledgment of the second, allows an intense sense of contemporary satire to enter this otherwise profoundly doctrinal work: *Honoría*, for her reflection of the Spanish preoccupation with *pundonor*; *Hipocrinda*, because she reflects the contemporary obsession with universal hypocrisy, the leitmotif of *Guzmán de Alfarache*, and a favorite subject for satire in Gracián’s day.

A very clear conclusion to our discussion may now be stated. Gracián has availed himself of the *primor* of the “*agudeza nominal*” to symbolize man and his main concerns on earth. His invented names have highlighted the main aspects of the moral message and have offered us an onomastic passage through the nature of man and his moral life itself.

Thus the didactic nature of the *Criticón* is clear. The preacher’s art is to give life to his sermon. The invented names we have discussed make the allegorical personifications more outright personal, and thus are more easily absorbed by the reader; they are more vividly representative of the qualities personified (cf. *la Hipocresía* for ‘hypocrisy,’ as the contemporary writer of the *auto* would have said, in contrast to Gracián’s *Hipocrinda*); and are more likely to be

remembered in the course of the novel.³⁵ In the *Criticón* the author seeks by literary means to reach his congregation with the maximum impress possible. In Gracián, thus, as perhaps nowhere else, the intellectual exercise of conceptism attains a fine synthesis of aesthetic ideal and moral purpose. The demonstration that the whole of man and his moral 'crises' can be signalized by a series of invented allegorical names reveals the originality of Gracián's technique and the efficacy with which he practiced his own doctrine of "Agudeza nominal."

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³⁵ Cf. Leo Spitzer, "'Betlengabor' — Une Erreur de Gracián ?", *RFE*, 17 (1930), 179: "L'appellativisation' des noms propres rentre tout à fait dans les habitudes stylistiques de Gracián, qui aime à donner une nouvelle âme sémantique aux mots, à leur insuffler pour ainsi dire une nouvelle âme sémantique . . . le nom propre ne doit pas seulement avoir, chez Gracián, la fonction de dénommer un être, mais aussi de le dépeindre et caractériser."

Falkland Islands: Nationalism and Names

JOHN RYDJORD

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS OR MALVINAS, located some three hundred miles east of the Strait of Magellan, have been the center of controversial claims since their discovery. Much of their history is associated with their names which have changed with the nationality of their explorers and with the claims and controversies of rival nations. As one author says: "Today the name of every bluff, and reef, and smallest channel of them — though many names are changed and lost — writes out the islands' history."¹

The Spaniards and the Portuguese, with crews of mixed nationalities, were the first to enter the South Atlantic area of the New World, exploring the *Terra Australis Incognita*. Later the *Incognita* was dropped but *Terra Australis* was occasionally used. Vicente Saenz, a strong advocate of Spanish claims, attributed the discovery of the Falkland Islands to Magellan, who was not Spanish but a Portuguese in the Spanish service, and whose name was Magallanes or Magalhães. Spain was too busy colonizing her large New World empire to devote her efforts to distant and desolate areas "like those of the archipelago, . . . which were known under the general name of Magallanes Islands."² Magellan's name was not at first applied to the Strait which now bears his name; it was applied to the land in this whole southern area. The Strait was called the *Strait of Martin Behaim* in honor of that great map-maker, and the surrounding coast "became known as Magalhaës."³ It is unlikely that Magellan ever saw the islands which briefly bore his name, although one of his men, Estevão Gomes or Esteban Gómez, a deserter, may have seen them.⁴

¹ V. F. Boyson, *The Falkland Islands* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 13-14.

² Vicente Saenz, *Latin America Against the Colonial System* (Mexico, 1949), pp. 97-104.

³ Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17.

⁴ Paul Groussac, *Las Islas Malvinas* (Spanish ed., Buenos Aires, 1936), p. 69, n. 87. See also "Falkland," *Encyclopedia Americana*.

The claim has been made that the islands had been seen by Amerigo Vespucci; but Amerigo, whose name spread from the land of the *Papagayos*, which became Brazil, to the whole New World, left no name for the Falklands. The supposition that he saw them is mere "conjecture."⁵ On the issue of nationality and names it may be of interest to note that Amerigo was an Italian; he was in the service of the Spaniards; he gave his name to a Portuguese colony; his name then spread to all the nationalities of the New World; and yet the name *American* has been largely monopolized by the Anglo-Americans of the United States.

There are many who have attributed the discovery of the Falklands to John Davis, the English explorer who saw the islands in 1592, but the islands were already on the map by 1529. Ribera's map of that year showed them as *Ya de Sanson*, the *Ya* for *Ysla*, and it could mean the Island of Sampson. Sebastian Cabot, an Italian in the Spanish service and the brother of John in the English service, knew them as "Islands of Sanson and they bene 8."⁶ Actually, they "bene" over a hundred.

Early explorers also called the islands *Islas de Patos* because they found there "Many very fat penguins, so fat that they were scarcely able to walk, and only half feathered." The name *Patos* might better have been applied to ducks and drakes. The large size of these strange penguins may have suggested the name of *Sanson* or Sampson to the sailors. The *Patos* or penguins must have been moulting since they were described as "only half feathered," *media pelados*, thus reminding the sailors of the shorn Sampson of Biblical times.⁷ Alonso de Santa Cruz, cosmographer to Charles V of Spain, used both names, *Ysla de Sanson Y de Patos*. Diego Gutierrez's map of America in 1592, when Davis was "discovering" the islands, labeled them as *Insule de Sanson*.⁸

Ascension Islands, located vaguely at that time between South America and Africa, seem to have floated freely in the minds of visionary explorers all the way to the Falklands. However, *Ascension* may have been applied independently to the Falklands. There was no consistency in the spelling of the name; it was written

⁵ Julius Goebel, *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands* (New Haven, 1927), p. 15.

⁶ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

⁷ Goebel, *op.cit.*, p. 15, n. 40 and p. 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Ascension, *Isla d'Ascension*, *Asençao*, *I de Acenca*, *Asenca*, and *acecam*.⁹ It was also suggested that *Sanson* was a corruption of *Ascension*. This, says Goebel, is "philologically absurd," and shows "a lamentable ignorance of the rough humor of seamen."¹⁰ Seamen have certainly left names with a seaman's sense of humor, but one should not dismiss the evolution of the spelling or the sound of a name because it is "philologically absurd." Whatever the source, sailor's humor or philological evolution, *Patos Islands* and *Sanson Islands* were both used, singly or jointly, in the sixteenth century, as were the various forms of *Ascension*. The latter name was revived in 1708 when Captain Alain Parée sailed along the northern shores of the islands which he named *Côtes de l'Assomption*. This was not, however, for the elusive *Ascension Islands* of the South Atlantic but for his ship *Nôtre Dame de l'Assomption*.¹¹

Before the end of the sixteenth century, British explorers, privateers, and pirates were penetrating the New World empire of Spain. Trailing Columbus by a century, John Davis, in the Cavendish expedition, from which he had been separated, said he had been driven among some islands, as Dampier quotes him, "never before discovered by any known relation, lying fifty leagues or better off the shore, east and northerly from the straits." Dampier adds without hesitation: "These were the Falkland Islands, of which Captain Davis certainly has the honour of being the original discoverer, . . ." Captain Davis left without claiming them or naming them. But Admiral Burney, possibly more aware of British ambitions, christened them "Davis's Southern Islands." Dampier said of Davis that this was "a distinction to which that celebrated navigator is fully entitled."¹²

Two years after the "discovery" by Davis came Richard Hawkins in the service of Queen Elizabeth of England. His naming of the islands is best told in his own delightful language:

The land for that it was discovered in the raigne of Queen Elizabeth, my sovereigne lady and mistress, and a Maiden Queene, and at my cost and adventure, in perpetuall memory of her

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31–33; and Groussac, *op.cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁰ Goebel, *op.cit.*, pp. 31 *et seq.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 13–16.

¹² *Lives and voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier* (New York, 1832), p. 154; and Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

chastitie, and remembrance of my endeavours, I gave it the name HAWKINS maiden-land.¹³

A more fulsome and frank naming of a place name one may seldom find. Although these islands were named in honor of the Queen "in perpetuall memory of her chastitie," perpetuity is a long time, and *Hawkins' Maiden Land* was the accepted name for about a century and only intermittently after that until it was replaced and forgotten.

Hawkins' description of the islands is so unrealistic that there are those who say that he never saw them. Promoter that he was, he named one island the *Fayre Iland*, since it was, as he says, "all over as greene and smooth as any meddow in the spring of the yeare."¹⁴ His descriptions were written long after his expeditions and after many years in a Spanish prison which might have made the free world look greener, but the grass was green in the Falklands. Groussac says of Davis and Hawkins that they may have discovered the "Malvinas" but at a place where they do not exist.¹⁵ Nevertheless, their names were applied to the islands.

Next came Sebald de Weert, Dutch captain of the *Geloof*, who left Rotterdam in 1598 and, after a peek at the Pacific, returned through the Strait of Magellan and "discovered" some islands "hitherto neither noted nor drawn on any map."¹⁶ He may have seen only a few of the islands of Hawkins' Maiden Land, but they had been both "noted" and named. However, the expedition of Sebald de Weert became well known and his name was given to the islands in many variations, such as *Iles de Sebald de Weert*, *Sebaldine Islands*, *Sebaldinas*, *Sebaldes*, *Sebaldines*, and, in Dutch, *Sebald van Weert*.¹⁷ William Dampier, British buccaneer, sailed the southern seas and said he had seen three islands which he called "Sibbel de Wards," an interesting example of a phonetic transition from one language to another. This name, used loosely for the archipelago at first, was soon restricted to a cluster of smaller isles northwest of the main group, known later as the *Jasons*.

¹³ *Lives . . . of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier*, p. 154; and Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁴ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 24, n. 1; see also Robert Fitz-Roy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. Ships Adventure and Beagle* (3 vols., London, 1939), 2. 232.

¹⁵ *Las Malvinas*, pp. 85-90.

¹⁶ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁷ Goebel, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

William Dampier and Ambrose Cowley, his companion, entered the South Atlantic in 1684 in a fine Danish ship which they had captured and renamed *The Batchelor's Delight*. They knew about the Sebald de Weert islands and yet they spoke of having "discovered" them. William Hacke, the editor of Cowley's journal, misjudged their location but, as "a compliment to the then secretary of the admiralty," he named them *Pepys Islands*. John Harris, a contemporary writer, says that Cowley "bestowed the name of Pepys Island on it in honor of that great Patron of Seamen Samuel Pepys, Esquire Secretary to his Royal Highness James, Duke of York, when Lord High Admiral of England."¹⁸ *Secretary's Point* and *Admiralty Bay* may also have been named to honor him. It has been said that Cowley and his corsairs "invented the Pepys Islands," but the name remained for some time;¹⁹ and, as late as 1771, Dr. Samuel Johnson referred to the islands as "Pepys or Falkland Islands."²⁰

In 1689–1690 Captain John Strong, with letters of marque, was searching for commerce or conquest along the Argentinian coast when strong winds drove him from *Puerto Deseado* to the shores of "Hawkins' Land." Strong sailed the nameless channel between the two larger islands which he named *Fawkland Sound* and which, with a change of spelling, introduced the name of *Falkland*, not for the island but for the channel.²¹

During the War of the Spanish Succession, Captain Woodes Rogers, in command of the *Duke* and the *Duchess*, English privateers, encountered a French expedition under Captain Alain Parée which he drove away. Rogers is quoted as having said: "This is Falkland's Land," using the possessive which would help to make it British. He is said to have been "the first to call the islands by their present name Falkland, giving to the islands the name Strong gave to the Sound between them."²²

For whom or for what the Falkland Islands were named is still debatable. It may have been for Lucius Cary, the Viscount of Falkland. One author said that Falkland Sound was named for Anthony,

¹⁸ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁹ Groussac, *op.cit.*, p. 98; Fitz-Roy, *op.cit.*, 2. 230.

²⁰ *Thoughts on the Late Transactions Respecting the Falkland Islands* (Reprint London, 1948), pp. 10, 12; Groussac, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

²¹ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 34; Fitz-Roy, *op.cit.*, 2. 231.

²² Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

Viscount Falkland, who was then supposedly commissioner of Admiralty and later First Lord of Admiralty, and at one time treasurer of the navy.²³ This assumption is questionable, and it has been questioned, since there seems to be no record of a Viscount of Falkland after the death of Lucius Cary, Second Viscount of Falkland, in 1643. Falkland Castle, once the happy home of Mary Queen of Scots, may also have been the source for the name. Near Falkland Castel, James II built a "Royal Burgh," also named Falkland, in the County of Fife.²⁴ Groussac suggests that Falkland Sound was not named for the Viscount, who had long been dead, but for the little burg of Falkland which was near the birthplace of John Strong.²⁵ But the name of Falkland was not adopted by the rivals of the British.

French sailors from St. Malo found the islands open for occupation and for a host of new French names. Jacques Beauchêsne Gouin left St. Malo in 1698 and entered the Pacific through the Strait of Magellan. On his return he found an "unknown" island which he thought was near the Sebaldine Islands. This island was then, "according to custom," named for the "discoverer" and became known as *Ile Beauchêsne*.²⁶

Members of an expedition in 1711 saw what they considered to be "new islands" which they named *Isle de Danycan*, as they said, in honor of Noel Danycan de Lepine, the owner of their ship.²⁷ According to one report the ship's commander, M. Fouquet, "named the cluster of islets near which he anchored, the Anican Isles." They were also called *Isles d'Anican*.²⁸ Captain Bernard, an American, later identified the Anican Islands which "lie low and dark and desolate at the S. E. entrance to Falkland Strait."²⁹ A French map of 1724 combined the French names and called them the *Nouvelles Isles d'Anykan et de Beauchêsne*.³⁰

²³ Goebel, *op.cit.*, p. 136, n. 44. See also "Lucius Cary," *Dictionary of National Biography*.

²⁴ Iain Moncreiffe, *The Royal Palace of Falkland* (Edinburgh, n.d.), *passim*.

²⁵ *Las Malvinas*, p. 101, n. 129.

²⁶ Goebel, *op.cit.*, p. 145.

²⁷ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 34; Groussac, *op.cit.*, p. 107.

²⁸ Fitz-Roy, *op.cit.*, 2. 232; E. W. Dahlgren, *Les Relations Commerciales et Maritimes entre La France et Les Côtes de L'Océan Pacifique* (Paris, 1909), p. 385.

²⁹ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34; Groussac, *op.cit.*, p. 107.

Many of the early explorers used the term "new islands" to make them appear to be new discoveries. Amedée Francois Frézier, one of France's foremost geographers, headed his own expedition to the South Atlantic in 1712–1714. He had been stationed at St. Malo and was quite familiar with the explorations of the St. Malo sailors. In his report, published in 1716, Frézier used the name *Isle Nouvelle* or *Isle Neuves*. He placed *I. Sebald* on a northwestern group; and farther south he located *I. Beauchêsne*.³¹ Lord Byron referred to some islands south of the Sebald de Weert as the *New Islands*.³² In the nineteenth century North American whalers frequently found refuge on *New Island*; today one little island, privately owned, still bears that name.³³ In this manner the name *Isle Neuve* has been preserved.

In 1721 Jacob Reggeween, heading a Dutch expedition, explored the islands and he named one point *Cape Rosenthal* for a sea-captain, and another, *New Year Cape* for the day on which it was discovered. The archipelago was called *Belgia Australis* because, "when inhabited, those who dwelt on it would be at the antipodes of the Low Countries."³⁴ It was no longer *Terra Australis Incognita*, nor did it remain *Belgia Australis*, but it could still be *Terra Australis*.

The French were to supply the name which would rival the English name of Falkland. Having come from the port of St. Malo, the French sailors were known as *Les Malouines*, and it was only a step to transfer the name of the sailors of St. Malo to the islands which they explored, and so the islands became *Les Isles Malouines*. Frézier used this name and *Les Malouines* may also be found on Delisle's map of 1722. In fact Delisle takes credit for the name when he says: "La terre que j'appelle l'archipel Malouin, parce qu'il a été découverte par les vaisseaux de Saint Malo, . . ."³⁵ After referring to Frézier's use of the name, Samuel Johnson said in 1771 that *Malouines* was "the denomination now used by the Spaniards."

³¹ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

³² Saenz, *op.cit.*, p. 99.

³³ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 84; Olin S. Pettingill, "People and Penguins of the Faraway Falklands," *National Geographic Magazine*, 109. 406.

³⁴ Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

³⁵ "The land which I call the archipelago of Malouin, because it was discovered by the ships of Saint Malo." Quoted by Dahlgren, *op.cit.*, p. 381, n. 4. Cf. Boyson, *op.cit.*, pp. 33–36.

The Spaniards, he added, "seem not till very lately to have thought them important enough to deserve a name."³⁶

Before the middle of the eighteenth century, Lord Anson suggested that the British seek a foothold in "either Pepys Island or the Falklands." Anson seemed to distinguish the areas for which the names were applied but Samuel Johnson used both names as if they were interchangeable.³⁷ The British government accepted Lord Anson's suggestion to investigate and, with unusual courtesy, asked Spain for permission to explore the islands. The Spaniards protested and, with imagination and some exaggeration, said that they had "long since discovered and inhabited" these islands which they called *Islas de Leones*. They were named for the sea lions because of "the quantities of these amphibious animals to be met upon their coasts."³⁸ The Spaniards may have intended to use the name for all of the islands in order to enhance their claims but the name was later relegated to only a small group in the southeastern part of the archipelago. The British and the French ignored both the name and the claim and Spain had no colony there to defend.

As a result of the Seven Years' War, France suffered serious losses in North America and efforts were made to care for colonials from the Evangeline country. Prompted by the Duke de Choiseul, premier of France, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, a brilliant French navigator and explorer, decided to use Les Malouines as a colonial sanctuary for dispossessed Acadians.³⁹ The main inlet along East Falkland, Bougainville named *Choiseul* in honor of the minister, and the site for the settlement he named *St. Louis* for his ship. Incidentally, Bougainville's first name was Louis and it has therefore been assumed that this was the source for the name.⁴⁰ Having named places, Bougainville then took possession of all the islands "under the name of Les Malouines," after which the French held a celebration with a *Te Deum* and a *Vive le Roi!* Two hundred penguins perished in a fire which Bougainville set on one island and so it was

³⁶ Johnson, *op.cit.*, p. 10. See also Fitz-Roy, *op.cit.*, 2. 232.

³⁷ Johnson, *op.cit.*, pp. 10, 12.

³⁸ Quoted from Benjamin Keene by Goebel, *op.cit.*, pp. 195-199.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-226; and *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (New York, 8 vols., 1929), 1. 698.

⁴⁰ G. M. Coombs, "The Antarctic Claims," *The Contemporary Review*, 163. 216-220.

named *Burnt Island*. Finally, *Cape Bougainville*⁴¹ was named in honor of the French explorer, whose name is, however, better known in the South Pacific.

The British also busied themselves with projects for colonization. Commodore John Byron, grandfather of the poet and a contemporary of Bougainville, was instructed in 1764 to call at "His Majesty's Islands call'd Falklands and Pepys' Islands situate in the Atlantick Ocean near the Streights of Magellan" to make some surveys and to select a site for settlements.⁴² According to Groussac, Byron was searching for Pepys Island without being concerned about the Falklands, expressing a Spanish view which might restrict the British interests.⁴³ Byron seems to have sailed between *Saunders* and *Keppel* islands. *Saunders Island* was likely named for Charles Saunders, a captain in Anson's famous expedition against the Spaniards. Viscount I. Augustus Keppel was a second generation Englishman of Dutch origin who had joined Anson in 1740 and participated in his expedition around the world. Lord Byron had served as midshipman on the same voyage and his name was left on *Byron Sound*.⁴⁴ So three of Anson's men — Saunders, Keppel, and Byron — left their names on the Falklands. A century later an effort was made to change the name of *Port Louis* to *Anson*, but this was not a lasting change.⁴⁵

Commodore Byron added several place names as he continued his explorations. *Port Egmont*, on Saunders Island and not on West Falkland as some have supposed, was named for John Perceval, second Count Egmont and First Lord of the Admiralty, one of the most ardent promoters of the colonization of the Falklands.⁴⁶ After leaving Port Egmont, Byron sailed north of Pebble Island and named *Cape Tamar* and *Cape Dolphin* for two ships in his fleet. He even tried to change the name of Falkland Sound to *Carlisle* but in

⁴¹ Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–43, and map opposite p. 414.

⁴² Conway to the Lords of Admiralty, July 20, 1765, Goebel, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

⁴³ *Las Malvinas*, p. 121.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 120–121; Fitz-Roy, *op. cit.*, 2. 232. For Saunders and Keppel see *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴⁵ Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 117. Both Anson County, North Carolina, and Ansonburgh which he founded are named in his honor. *American Cyclopedia* (New York, 1874), 1. 538.

⁴⁶ Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Groussac, *op. cit.*, 121, n. 165.

this attempt he failed. Byron then took possession for his king, George III, of the whole archipelago "by the name of Falkland's Islands."⁴⁷

Admiral John McBride followed Byron in 1766 in H. M. ship *Jason*. He saw Sebald de Weert's Islands, ignored their accepted Dutch name, and renamed them *Jason's Islands* for the name of his ship. The Jasons were later distinguished by individual names: *Great or Gran Jason*, *Steeple Jason*, *Elephant Jason*, *Flat Jason*, and *South Jason*.⁴⁸ One author added a third name to the group and called them the *Sebaldines*, *Jasons*, or *Salvages*.⁴⁹ They first had a Dutch name, then an English name from Greek mythology, and they now received a Spanish descriptive name. *Salvages*, which could mean savage, may mean rough or wild and is appropriate for the inhospitable isles.

McBride whose name is found on *McBride Head*, later ran into the French colony and demanded to know by what right it was there. The French were equally curious and critical about McBride and the British. The Spaniards in turn questioned the right of either to be there. They first challenged the French. Spain and France, with Bourbons on both thrones, were supposed to be on friendly terms, and Bougainville, in recognition of the Spanish claims, agreed, for a price, to withdraw the French colony. Consequently the Spanish flag replaced the French flag on April 1, 1767, and the hapless Acadians were again dispossessed.⁵⁰ The British were challenged three years later.

The Spaniards had not previously been much concerned about the names of the Falklands but, having taken possession, it was now their turn. In the words of Boyson: "Awed by its stern aloofness and far-flung solitude they gave it no name, as English and French had done, of friend, or sovereign, or loved place of home;" but being "visionary, lofty, impersonal," they "bestowed on the islands the most beautiful, they called it *Isla Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*."⁵¹ *Baie St. Louis* of the French, *Berkeley Sound* of the British, now became *Bahia de Soledad* for the Spaniards. As the settlers gradually

⁴⁷ Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-50; Goebel, *op. cit.*, 232, 273-274.

⁴⁸ Groussac, *op. cit.*, map opposite p. 200; Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

⁴⁹ Fitz-Roy, *op. cit.*, 2. 232.

⁵⁰ Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Goebel, *op. cit.*, p. 228, n. 19.

⁵¹ Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

deserted the desolate isle, it finally and fittingly became in its solitude just *Soledad*.⁵²

Now all of the islands were in need of a Spanish name in order to support the Spanish claims. The Spaniards had been for some time content to use the French name of *Les Malouines* but this they now modified to make it look like Spanish and sound like Spanish even though it might lose its meaning in the transition. First they changed *Malouines* to *Maluines*, and occasionally *Maluynas*, leaving out the "o," in accordance with Spanish orthography. Then they changed the "u" to a "v," an easy transition, and there they had a new name, *Las Malvinas*, a name which persisted to the present as a rival of the English name Falkland. After the Spanish government adopted the name *Las Malvinas*, Groussac adds in parentheses, but with doubtful accuracy: *tal fue desde entonces su unico nombre reconocido*.⁵³

Anglo-Americans and the English also had trouble with the French name *Malouines* and, by ignoring the French pronunciation of the "i," they called the islands the "Maloons."⁵⁴ The Germans merely put a German ending on the French name which changed it to *Malouinische Inseln*. With their meticulous care for detail and with great impartiality, they referred to the islands as *Hawkins Maiden oder Jungfern-Land von Johann Hawkins 1593 entdeckt sonst Falklands oder Malouinische Inseln*. They combined both the Dutch and the English for the Sebald Islands as *Sebald Inseln, 1598 von Sebald de Weert entdeckt itzt Jasons Eilande* in German; in English: Sebald Islands, now Jasons Islands, discovered by Sebald von Weert in 1598. Those called *Islas de Leones* by the Spaniards were naturally *Seewölfelsen* in German. While using the English name Falkland for the whole group, East Falkland was labeled *Franzosen I.*, giving the French preference even in German.⁵⁵

Only determined diplomacy or the resort to war could untangle the title to the islands and the linguistic confusion. If the Spaniards

⁵² Forrest McWhan, *Falkland Islands Today* (Sterling, Scotland, 1952), p. 16; Goebel, *op.cit.*, p. 273.

⁵³ "Such was from then on its only recognized name." *Las Malvinas*, p. 141, n. 198.

⁵⁴ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 33; Fitz-Roy, *op.cit.*, 2. 232.

⁵⁵ See map in Goebel, *op.cit.*, p. 360. One may note that the Germans mistakenly gave credit for Hawkins's expedition to "Johann" rather than to his son Richard.

could rid the islands of foreign intruders, the name could remain *Las Malvinas*, the "only recognized" one, as Groussac suggested. The Spaniards from *Isla Soledad* demanded that the British leave West Falkland; the British were equally ardent in demanding that the Spaniards depart. Spain had bought off the French and were determined to drive out the British. On June 10, 1770, with warships and troops from Buenos Aires, the Spaniards took possession of the British colony at Port Egmont. The British became belligerent when the news of the loss of Port Egmont reached England in September.⁵⁶ With French support, by means of the Family Compact, Spain might fight over the Falklands or Malvinas with some hope of success; without it, she might better seek a settlement and peace.

The personal and political battle between Madame du Barry, the French king's mistress, and Choiseul, the king's minister, decided the issue and determined the name. Choiseul recommended that France support Spain, even though it meant war with Britain. Madame du Barry objected, for personal reasons — it seems — rather than for reasons of state. The king listened to the mollifying voice of Madame du Barry rather than to the belligerent and anti-British voice of Choiseul, and Choiseul was dismissed. Where the minister had lost, the mistress had won, and therefore Spain sought peace with Britain.⁵⁷

The king of Spain ordered the restitution of the British colony at Port Egmont, without, however, in any way affecting his "prior Right of Sovereignty of the Malouines Islands, otherwise called the Falklands."⁵⁸ Lord Chatham complained fruitlessly to the House of Lords that Port Egmont alone had been restored and not Falkland. Samuel Johnson, using the name of *Junius*, ridiculed the idea of going to war over what he called a "Magellanick rock," reviving the neglected name of Magellan. Had the Bourbons combined against the British the latter might have suffered serious losses. The British were happy for the "miraculous interposition of Providence"⁶⁰ which brought them peace, and they should also have been thankful

⁵⁶ *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, 1. 701–703.

⁵⁷ Boyson, *op.cit.*, pp. 58–64; Groussac, *op.cit.*, 317, n. 4.

⁵⁸ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 68; Groussac, *op.cit.*, 134–136.

⁵⁹ Boyson, *op.cit.*, p. 69.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70; and *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, 1. 703.

for the interposition of Madame du Barry who had prevented French support for Bourbon Spain without supporting Britain.

The return of Port Egmont to Britain strengthened her claim to the Falklands. But the period of British occupation was brief. In 1774 the colonists were happy to abandon these desolate and distant islands. While deserting them, however, the governor put up a notice, engraved on lead, claiming the Falklands.⁶¹

During the Spanish American wars for independence the islands were generally neglected and ignored. The Spaniards had deserted Soledad by 1811. Having won their independence from Spain, the United Provinces of La Plata, as Argentina was then called, assumed that they had inherited the Falklands. Not until 1829, however, did they take possession by establishing a colony at Soledad.⁶² The British protested but they had no colony there to support their claims, and to defend.

During the years of neglect, North American sealers and whalers found refuge in the bays and inlets of unoccupied islands. Even the Americans left place names. *Bernard Harbor* was named for Charles H. Bernard, an American sea captain; *Smylie Channel* was named for William H. Smyley, with a change in spelling.⁶³ When Louis Vernet, the Argentinian governor, arrested Americans for "violating Argentine fishing laws," Silas Duncan, commanding an American naval expedition, captured the Argentinian garrison, arrested the governor, and destroyed the settlement, making Soledad once again a place of solitude whose sovereignty as well as its name was at stake. Argentina and the United States then started a heated debate over their respective rights in the Falklands, which even the North Americans called "Las Malvinas."⁶⁴

While the two argued, in 1833 Britain moved back into the Falklands with colonists and a colonial garrison, insisting that she had never abandoned her claims. The Argentinians protested vehemently but they have been unable to budge the British to this day. Each gives preference to its own nomenclature. A map made by the

⁶¹ The Spanish governor took the name-plate and stored it in the archives of Buenos Aires; but when General Beresford captured Buenos Aires in 1806 he brought the plaque to Britain. Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁶² Saenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-103; Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-98.

⁶³ Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 *et seq.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Argentinian Military Geographical Institute refers to the two large Falklands as *Malvina Oeste* and *Malvina Este*, and the name Falkland is restricted to the channel where it was originally applied. A typical Argentinian title for the archipelago is *Islas Malvinas (o Falkland) poseidos actualmente por Inglaterra*, giving preference to the Spanish name and using the English name only parenthetically.⁶⁵ A book by Juan Carlos Moreno, an Argentinian, with the title *Nuestras Malvinas*, was so popular that it went through six editions between 1938 and 1950.⁶⁶ To the Argentinians the islands are not only *Nuestras Malvinas* but also the *Terra Irredenta*. Yet English names are now scattered all over the islands with an occasional foreign name to give them an international flavor. During World War I the British won a great victory over the German navy in the Battle of the Falklands, bringing those remote and murky islands into the limelight and stimulating the pride of possession. Yet the dual claims and the dual names persist.

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⁶⁵ See map in Groussac, *op.cit.*, opposite p. 200.

⁶⁶ (6th ed., Buenos Aires, 1950).

Names from *The Magic Mountain*

WARREN R. MAURER

PROBABLY THE SHORTEST AND BEST DESCRIPTION of the formal aspects of Thomas Mann's *Zauberberg* (1924) is the unusual compound *Romanteppich*, or "tapestry novel." This term, used by Mann himself,¹ suggests a work of art consisting of a great number of colorful strands, skillfully interwoven in such a way that each one touches or crosses many others and contributes distinctly to the completed picture. My purpose in this study will be to focus attention on a much neglected, multicolored strand of Mann's composition — the character names. Through the use of examples I shall try to show something of the complexity of considerations the author had in mind while naming his characters, and the relationship of the names to other elements of the novel such as plot, leit-motif, characterization, and numeric symbolism.

Even a superficial reading of the novel in German leaves one with the impression that the names are generally significant on several levels, and that the connotations attached to them are at once subtle and playful. A rereading, with special attention to names, allows the reader, in many cases, to confirm his suspicions as to what Mann wishes to imply with a particular name. With surprising frequency he offers clues to his own attitude through the characters, through narration, and through the use of such stylistic devices as the description of dreams and the use of indirect discourse.

A reasonable explanation has already been given for the name of the "simple hero" of the book, *Hans Castorp*. Wolff, doubtlessly recalling the line where Hans and his cousin Joachim are greeted as "Castor und Pollux,"² concludes that Mann had the Greek myth in

¹ I. e., in "Der Tod in Venedig" (1911). See Thomas Mann, *Novellen* (Berlin, 1925), 2.356. Cf. also Hermann J. Weigand, *Thomas Mann's Novel Der Zauberberg* (New York and London, 1933), 166–167, note 16.

² Thomas Mann, *Der Zauberberg*, (2 vols., Berlin, 1924), 1.363. Subsequent quotations from the novel in my text are from this edition. The parallel English translations supplied where necessary are basically my own although I also consulted the H. T. Lowe-Porter translation (New York, 1939). See also Hans M. Wolff, *Thomas Mann* (Bern, 1957), 60.

mind when he named his hero. By adding a *p* to the name Castor he makes the possibility of recognition more remote, while producing a name which looks German, and which is suitable for a member of the upper middle-class of northern Germany. Through the uninhibited mispronunciation of a minor character, Mann characterizes the name as such, but also indicates the slightly peculiar sound it nevertheless has for a German. Frau Zimmermann says to Castorp: "Setzen Sie sich doch, Herr Kasten, Herr Carsten, oder wie Sie heißen, Sie heißen so komisch..." (1. 515; "Sit down, Mr. Kasten, Mr. Carsten, or whatever your name is, you have such a funny name..."). By contrasting Castorp's name with two which are *entirely* German the implication is made that it is not quite typical and that its bearer is not quite typical either. Adding the *p* must have been satisfying to the author for another reason too. It gives the name Castorp seven letters and thereby links it with the seven-symbolism so prominent in the book. Although not all of the names have seven letters, most of the main ones and too many of the minor do, to be ascribed to coincidence in the work of such a meticulous craftsman.³

Joachim Ziemßen, Castorp's cousin and inseparable companion, plays the role of Pollux in the narrative, even to the point of returning from the realm of the dead in order to pay him a visit. In naming him, however, Mann abandons the Greek myth in favor of more primary considerations. Joachim is "ein Militär." His bearing is military, he answers questions by clicking his heels, he is assiduously scrupulous of orders (even the house orders of the sanatorium), he makes anti-Semitic utterances, and quotes Moltke on the necessity of war. Instead of opinions he has prejudices. "Ich sage dir ja," he tells Castorp, "es kommt überhaupt nicht drauf an, was für Meinungen einer hat, sondern darauf, ob einer ein rechter Kerl ist." (2. 77-78, "I tell you it doesn't matter at all what opinions a man has, as long as he's a decent fellow.") In short, he is as the little Italian Settembrini says, "... jene Hoffnung der preußischen Heeresorganisation, Leutnant Ziemßen." (2. 60, "... that hope of the Prussian army organization, Lieutenant Ziemssen.") It is for this reason, and possibly because the author speaks of "... Joachims *capitan general*, der preußische Friedrich..."

³ Cf. A. M. Z. Norman, "Seven Symbolism in *The Magic Mountain*," *Monatshefte*, 47 (1955), 360.

(2. 180) that some critics have seen in Ziemßen the model of Frederick the Great.⁴ The resemblance is tenuous at best. Frederick, with his interests in philosophy and the arts, and his adeptness at intrigue and politics, was a far more complicated individual than the simple, straightforward soldier Joachim. A more fitting and plausible model, it seems to me, is available in the person of the celebrated General Hans Joachim von Zieten (1699–1786). I am led to my conclusion not only by the similarity of the names, or the fact that the “preußische Friedrich“ was in reality Zieten’s *capitan general*, but because he epitomizes young Ziemßen’s military ideal of unspeculative, manly derring-do, much more perfectly than Frederick the Great himself. Like Ziemßen, his one desire was to be a soldier, and he tried to enlist three times before he was finally accepted for military service. Once in the army he advanced rapidly to the rank of lieutenant (as does Ziemßen) and soon made a name for himself as a courageous field soldier with (again like Ziemßen) a strong antipathy to barracks duty and a predilection for sports and physical activity. That Mann knew this historical personage is virtually certain. Zieten and his famous *Zietenritt* (Zieten’s ride) are household words known to practically every schoolboy in Germany, and the anecdotes told about him are a part of German folklore. Mann, who had earlier made extensive studies for a projected novel about Frederick the Great, probably knew him more intimately than most.

The question remains as to how Mann arrived at the name *Joachim Ziemßen* from *Hans Joachim von Zieten*. *Joachim*, a perfectly serviceable and soldierly name of seven letters, and with Prussian connotations, is, of course, given; an added incentive to his choice may also lie in the fact that one of Mann’s ancestors had the name.⁵ The surname would be changed so as not to be too obvious, although the first syllable would be hard to resist. For some reason — perhaps the influence of Zieten himself — names beginning with the letters *Zi(e)-* are easily associated with Prussian militarism. For example the pre-World War I political-humor magazine *Simplissimus*, of which Mann was a one-time editor, demonstrates this repeatedly in its choice of names (such as *von Zitzewitz*) for the

⁴ E.g., Ferdinand Lion, *Thomas Mann Leben und Werk* (Zürich, 1947), 84.

⁵ I.e., Joachim Siegmund Mann (1728–1799). See Viktor Mann, *Wir waren fünf* (Konstanz, 1949), 13.

Prussian military boob. The name *Ziemßen* would have appealed to him when he saw it, and in Munich, where he lived and worked, he had sufficient opportunity to come in contact with it; it is the name of a street — *Ziemssenstrasse* — in the center of town.⁶ That he should change the *ss* to *ß*, with the same phonetic value, may have been occasioned by the fact that it looks more Prussian, or because it again results in a name with seven letters.

Although the name *Settembrini*, one of Castorp's mentors and the eloquent but superficial spokesman of enlightenment, has more than seven letters, the suggestion of seven, i.e., *September* "the seventh month," is inherent in it. The name is ironic. It refers to the September Revolution of 1792, after which the verb *septembrisieren* was coined to mean "radical action." Settembrini, however, would have us believe that he is the advocate of a humanistic, evolutionary, parliamentary type of government. His prototype, according to Mann, may have been the Italian liberal politician and literary critic *Luigi Settembrini* (1813–1877).⁷

Naphta, the name of Castorp's second pedagogue and a competitor with Settembrini for his soul, has more ominous overtones than that of the handsome little "windbag" and "organgrinder." *Naphta* is also more complex. Physically he is small, sharp of feature, with "metallic colorless" hair and a "corrosive" ugliness. Born a Jew and raised a Jesuit, he is a terrorist living in a "silken cell." As Weigand explains, "his personality, rooted in no steadying tradition, is a discordant blend of motley elements that have coalesced solely because of their mutual bond of hate against the bourgeois world" (p. 12). From the colorless, volatile petroleum distillate *naphtha* the name gets coldly-impersonal and has unpleasant connotations and the suggestion of inflammability. It is not surprising that *Naphta*, such a precarious unity of opposites, ends by blowing out his brains in a fit of rage. *Naphta* is also a Jew — with a twice camouflaged Jewish name. The Biblical surname *Naphtali* is a translation into Hebrew (usually as a device to obscure its bearer's Jewish background) of the more common *Hirsch*.⁸ By shortening

⁶ Named, on January 1, 1903, after *Geheimrath* Dr. Hugo von Ziemssen (1829 to 1902), a famed clinician and Munich personality.

⁷ See H. W. Rudman, "A Possible Prototype of Mann's Settembrini," *GR*, 25 (1950), 299. Cf. also Weigand, 164, note 16; and Wolff, 66.

⁸ See Ernst Schwarz, "Ruf- und Familiennamen," *Deutsche Namenforschung* (Göttingen, 1949), 1.207.

this existing name to *Naphta*, Mann expanded its connotative value, in the directions discussed above, without losing entirely the suggestion of Hebrew origin. The suggestion that *Naphta* is hiding his past is also supported by the fact that he has changed his first name from *Leib* to the less distinctive *Leo* — a name which Mann, possibly with intentional parallelism, also gives the Jew *Leo Blumenkohl*.

The first name of *Naphta's* father, *Elia*, who is described as "etwas von einem Gottesvertrauten" (2. 167, "something of a confidant of God"), serves, in its allusion to the Prophet *Elias* (*Elijah*), to characterize him as belonging to an older generation of mystics, and tempers the harsh impersonal sound of the surname.

Mann also uses several other Jewish names to good advantage in his novel, and one entire incident depends on the reader's recognition of such a name for its understanding: the episode of *Rosenheim* and *Schmitz* related by Dr. Behrens. Both names have ironic overtones. *Rosenheim*, the Jewish name, means "house of roses," and suggests sweetness and tranquillity. It is used to designate a patient in an advanced stage of tubercular decay. *Rosenheim's* opponent and fellow patient, *Schmitz*, cherishes a bitter hatred for him and reports him to Behrens for having spat upon the sidewalk. *Castorp* naïvely blames the mutual antagonism on an *affaire de cœur* but the author tells the real story simply by contrasting the names. The noun *Schmitz*, in German, is an alternate form of the more common *Schmiß*, which means "dueling scar" and contains all the unpleasant associations of the notorious rightist, anti-Semitic "schlagende Verbindungen" or dueling fraternities. Taken together the names speak volumes about the anti-Semitic basis for the conflict between the two men.

Significantly Mann gives us another anti-Semitic episode, but this time, in keeping with the crescendo of emotions near the end of the book where it appears, he dispenses with subtlety and involves the protagonists, *Sonnenschein* and *Wiedemann*, in a public hair-pulling, eye-gouging battle. Again the names are ironic. *Sonnenschein* (i.e. "sunshine") is a friendly, intelligent man with a basically sunny personality. To *Wiedemann*, the vehement anti-Semitic, there is, however, no filthier name. His own name he

considers "Christian" and "not impure," in spite of the connotations of *widerlich* (disgusting) it inevitably has for the German reader.

In his ravings Wiedemann speaks of two Jews, *Hirsch* (stag) and *Wolf*, which fit into the category of animal names. That Mann also attributes animal characteristics to people with such names is frequently suggested. An *Ilitis*, for example, is a fitchet or European polecat. In one of his dreams Castorp sees the patient Frau Ilitis sitting by the side of the road "mit einer spitzen Schnauze" (1. 36, "with a pointed snout"). Another character, a redheaded girl from Greece, he designates only as "die Patientin mit dem Tapirgesicht" (1. 188 and 556, "the patient with the tapir-face"), and the name *Gänser*, from German *Gans* 'goose,' aptly describes the silly behavior of its bearer.

Dr. *Behrens* derives his name from German *Bär* 'bear' and, lest there by any doubt, Mann has one of the patients call him a "Bär" outright (1. 517). Again the name is eminently suitable. It suggests the bearish impression made by his huge hands and feet, flat nose, stooped, broad-legged stance, and robust personality. It even suggests his animalistic, materialistic outlook; for he is indeed a *Körperfürst* 'prince of the body' as Settembrini once calls him.

Perhaps the most obvious of Mann's animal names is that of *Clawdia Chauchat*. The pronunciation of the surname tells us that Mann had in mind the French words *chaud* and *chat* 'warm [or ardent] cat,' and in numerous comments he suits the character to the name. Her walk is described now as a *Katzentritt* 'cat's step,' now as that of a kitten slinking to a bowl of milk. Her movements are feline and "lässig" 'indolent.' When she moves about she does so with "vorgeschobenem Kopf" 'head thrust forward,' and her face, which is also that of a "Schleicherin" 'one who slinks,' has, with its wide cheekbones and slanted "Steppenwolfslichter" 'prairiewolf eyes,' the appearance of a cat. Behrens even implies that she speaks like a cat when he asserts "... Französisch oder auch Neuhochochdeutsch miaut das Kätzchen ja allerliebste, ..." (2. 23, "... the kitten meows quite prettily in French or book German...").

Mme. Chauchat is the embodiment of carnal love, death, and the mystic East. Although her animal magnetism is stressed on the surface, Mann never allows the reader to forget how closely her

attraction for Castorp is related to his affinity for death. It is disease, death's helpmate, which emphasizes her body. Her arms are cool as death, and, instead of a photo, Castorp carries a picture of her skeleton, a chest x-ray, next to his heart. To stress this relationship still further the author confuses her, in the hero's psyche, with a former schoolmate named Hippe. Whereas the name Chauchat connotes feverish, pulsating life, Hippe, its complement, connotes death. *Hippe* is an archaic German word for "scythe," the symbol of the Grim Reaper, familiar to every German reader of Bürger's famed *Lenore*.⁹

Both *Clawdia Chauchat* and *Pribislav Hippe* are of Slavic origin and one might ask why their surnames are not Slavic too. The answer lies in the fact that the author prefers names with associations meaningful to his German audience. For the sake of realism he suggests that *Chauchat* is a nickname (a fact which only enhances its appropriateness) and that the woman's real name is Russian. The name *Clawdia* (pronounced *Clavdia*) Castorp himself finds fitting. Aside from suggesting *Klaue* 'claws' — another reference to her feline nature — its pronunciation is also Russian enough to keep the reader aware of her Eastern origin. Hippe's first name serves a similar purpose. It is an archaic Czech name well-suited to the archaic surname. It is odd that *Pribislav*, or "Pschibislav," as Mann insists it should be pronounced, should even have a Slavic first name considering his family's long lineage in Germany. Odd too, that being a western Slav, he should have the same "Kirgisenaugen" 'Kirghiz eyes' as Mme. Chauchat.

In *Marusja*, diminutive of "Maria," the author successfully imbues a Slavic name with connotations his audience can understand. By stressing the similarity of the sound of the name to that of the word *mazurka* (1. 123), he emphasizes the macabre gaiety of the girl "mit dem Apfelsinenparfüm und der hohen, wurmstichigen Brust" (1. 249, "with the orange scent, and the swelling bosom tainted

⁹ Like the *Zauberberg*, Gottfried August Bürger's poem mingles life, death, and love. The pertinent lines read:

*Zum Schädel ohne Zopf und Schopf,
Zum nackten Schädel ward sein Kopf,
Sein Körper zum Gerippe
Mit Stundenglas und Hippe.*

(His head turned into a skull, a naked skull without scalp or queue; his body became a skeleton with hour-glass and scythe.)

within"). Mann likewise depends heavily on tonal associations for the name of Dr. *Krokowski*. The first syllable suggests the word *crow* in both English and Polish, and the man's fluttering black cloak (blood-spattered in one description), yellow teeth, and seemingly air-borne entrance into Castorp's room, suggest a carrion crow. The sound of the name enhances this impression since it too is suspiciously similar to the cry of a crow. That it is at the same time unpleasant, should not, however, prejudice the reader against the opinions of its bearer. Settembrini's name has a more pleasant ring than Naphta's, but Castorp and Mann consider them both "Schwätzer" 'babbler.' Likewise, although Behrens may sound more pleasant, and designates a more likeable character than Krokowski, this is no indication that Mann sides with the former in his physiological interpretation of the cause of disease; quite the contrary. The names merely provide artistic balance.

Assisting the two doctors at Berghof is the nurse *Adriatica von Mylendonk*. A Catholic, proud of the fact that one of her ancestors was an abbess in a convent at Bonn in the thirteenth century, her name reminds Castorp and the reader of days long gone by. "Von Mylendonk und dann Adriatica," he muses, "Es klingt, als müßte sie längst gestorben sein" (1. 105, "Von Mylendonk and then Adriatica; it sounds as though she must have died a long time ago"). Another nurse, a part-time, private employee, also has an archaic name, but one with less elusive connotations. *Alfreda Schildknecht* arrives on the scene with her little black bag when all hope for a patient has been abandoned. The champion of the *moribundus*, she nurses the dying Rothein and is a frequent visitor to Leila Gerngroß before her death. Her name characterizes her in this capacity. As in the age of chivalry she is a *Schildknecht*: a 'shield-bearer' or 'squire' who helps her patients bear their burden in the final battle with death. This function becomes especially clear when Ziemßen dies. Always the soldier, he grows a field soldier's beard which enhances the illusion of a dying warrior. At one point Alfreda makes the embarrassing remark in his presence that she had never expected to "serve him to death" (2. 324, "zu Tode pflegen"), and when he finally expires she is at her post in the corridor as though standing guard before his door.

A minor member of the staff, the bath attendant *Turnherr*, has a name which aptly describes both his occupation and appearance.

Constructed on the pattern of the nickname of the father of German gymnastics, "Turnvater" Jahn,¹⁰ it refers in its component parts to gymnastics and master or Mr. and reeks of locker rooms and physical fitness cults. It is an excellent name for the "nerviges Individuum" 'muscular individual' who gives Castorp his rubdown.

Several other names are also striking as designators of particular professions. Stern old Pastor *Hesekiel* has as his surname an older variant of the name of the Prophet Ezechiel (Ezekiel). Mann emphasizes the dignity of the name, of the man, and of his age, by contrasting them with the colorless name of Hesekiel's more modern successor, Pastor Bugenhagen. The family doctor, Dr. *Heidekind*, also of an older generation, has a name which suggests several equally apt interpretations. It may be construed to mean either 'child of the heath' or 'heathen child.' Since, however, it also has strong connotations of *Heidekraut*, and since *Kraut* 'herb' belongs to the realm of primitive, heathen medicine, the latter explanation seems to me most fitting. Heidekind's methods, at any rate, are far simpler and more child-like than the specialized medical techniques of Behrens and Krokowski. For Castorp's illness he prescribes porter and a change of climate! The care Mann often lavishes on names of even minor characters is further exemplified by *Stabsarzt* 'staff doctor' *Eberding*, mentioned only once. In its literal meaning of 'boar-pig thing' this name hints ungently at the crudity of army doctors.

Occasionally the author uses names in a manner very suggestive of the technique of the leitmotif. By the mere mention of such a name he not only elicits a specific reaction from the reader, but is able to transfer the same reaction to characters with whom the reader may be totally unfamiliar. *Fräulein Kleeefeld* (Miss Cloverfield) has such a name. She is the queen bee presiding over one of Haus Berghof's seven tables who arouses young men by whistling at them through her pneumothorax, and who, in her dress, manners, and behavior, represents a particularly crude and earthy form of eroticism. Swarming about her are young men of similar disposition. They include the aforementioned Ganser, and two young gentlemen named *Herr Albin* and *Anton Schneermann*; the latter, of course, only until his mother learns of the questionable morality of his companions and rescues him forcibly from the sanatorium. Also seated at Kleeefeld's table is *Dona Perez*, the disputed object of

¹⁰ I.e., Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852).

affection of Rosenheim and Schmitz. Although the author doesn't bother to describe her, the mention of her name in connection with Kleefeld's is sufficient to taint her with the stamp of moral laxity.

It is Kleefeld's companion, Herr *Albin*, who introduces the book "Die Kunst, zu verführen" (1. 459, The Art of Seduction') to his avidly interested fellow-patients. Mann calls him a *Laffe* 'dandy' and *Windbeutel* 'windbag' and emphasizes his affected manner and speech (See 1. 136 and 187). The name suggests the adjective *albern* 'silly' and it seems safe to say that this is at least one of the associations Mann wished to convey by its use.

Frau Stöhr is an older woman with a function similar to Kleefeld's. She is a stingy, cowardly, superstitious gossip with an interest in eroticism and cheap films. Her name and its pronunciation suggest the German words *stören* 'to disturb' and *störrisch* 'disturbing, disturbingly.' On several occasions the author describes her "Hasenzähne" 'rabbit teeth' as "störrisch entblößt" 'disturbingly revealed' and speaks of her face and manner as being "störrisch" to Castorp. Her most basic characteristic, however, is that she is "ungebildet" 'uncultured' and/or 'uneducated' and seemingly proud of the fact. A "Hausfrau" from Cannstadt, she constantly mispronounces words, thinks that "Leise, leise, fromme Weise" comes out of *Tannhäuser*, and speaks of the *Erotika* (*sic*) of Beethoven. The German word *Störfrau* (note the juxtaposition of elements) suggests effectively this side of her nature. A *Störfrau* is a woman, generally of low social standing, who does day work in people's homes. It is hardly surprising, then, that Frau Stöhr is able to disguise herself particularly effectively as a charwoman on the night of the carnival. Weigand has pointed out the interesting fact that Mann spares his reader a too direct contact "with this representative of coarse, middle-class pretentiousness," by reproducing her "vulgar gossip . . . through the medium of indirect discourse" (p. 19).

Frequently mentioned with Frau Stöhr are *Frau Salomon* and *Frau Magnus* — the latter the wife of a beer brewer from Halle. Both names are ironic. Fat Mrs. Salomon can hardly be said to possess the "wisdom of Solomon," and Frau Magnus, who is described as being even more stupid than Frau Stöhr, is hardly the humanist her name implies. Her husband has violent fits of anger and an antipathy to literary art.

The names *Barbara Hujus*, *Leila Gerngroß*, and *Fränzchen Oberdank* are typical of the ones Mann gives the very young female patients. *Hujus* is derived from the genitive of the Latin demonstrative pronoun *hic* (usually spelled *huius* and *hujus*) and alludes both to the Catholic rite of extreme unction the girl is about to receive and to the fact that she is a "Backfisch" 'adolescent', Latin being the main preoccupation of German secondary school pupils. Poor little *Leila Gerngroß* (like-to-be-big) with the forget-me-not eyes would also like very much to outlive her adolescence. Unfortunately her first name, with its tonal allusion to *Lilien* 'lilies' suggests an early death as her lot. *Fränzchen Oberdank* is a less sentimental and less appealing young lady. The surname implies haughtiness (i.e., "von oben herab") and the diminutive form of the first name suggests a spoiled child. That the lawyer *Einhuf* 'one-hoof' from Jüterborg should succeed in seducing her is not surprising. Morality is not her strong point, and then, as *Einhuf*'s name implies, he is a "devil" with the ladies. One of the identifying features of the devil in German folklore is that he has a *Pferdefuß* or horse's hoof.

Of a more sinister nature is *Herr Wehsal*. A sadist-masochist with bad teeth, whose hobby is making excursions to medieval torture chambers, *Wehsal* finds his most profound pleasure in self-abasement, thoughts of murder, and the "unlimited happiness" of unrequited love. His admiration for Frau Chauchat is a "Lustfolter" 'pleasure-rack' for him, but, unlike *Castorp* and *Peeperkorn*, he comes into contact with her only in his dreams. "Und immer endet es damit," he says, "daß sie mir Ohrfeigen gibt, mich ins Gesicht schlägt und manchmal auch anspeit, — mit vor Ekel verzerrtem Seelenangesicht speit sie mich an, und dann wache ich auf, mit Schweiß und Schmach und Lust bedeckt. . ." (2. 465, "And all the dreams end the same way: she boxes me on the ears, slaps my face, sometimes spits on me, with her face all distorted in disgust, and then I awake, covered with sweat and shame and desire. . ."). The noun *Wehsal*, from which Mann doubtlessly derived the name, signifies "a condition which causes serious sorrow or misery." However, through analogy with such words as *Zahnweh* 'toothache,' *Kopfweh* 'headache,' and *Wehen* 'labor pains,' the stem *Weh-* also has strong connotations of intense physical pain, and therefore gives the name *Wehsal* a double suitability.

I have postponed the discussion of Mynheer Pieter Peeperkorn, because his name, like his character, does not conveniently fit into any category. Peeperkorn is a "Kolonial-Holländer, ein Mann von Java, ein Kaffeepflanzer" (2. 346), with a Malayan servant, a catarrhal condition due to alcoholism, and an interest in beautiful women and deadly poisons. His liquid "bread," for which he has an extraordinary need, is "Schnaps," a "Korndestillat" 'grain distillate,' and in his person he combines attributes of both Bacchus and Jesus in Gethsemane, the "Man of Sorrows." His name suggests all these things. *Peeperkorn* is Dutch for 'pepper kernel' and suggests the exoticism of faraway places where, as the German says, "der Pfeffer wächst" (pepper grows). Since *Korn* in German is synonymous with "hard liquor" the second member of the compound, *-korn*, also connotes the Bacchus side of his personality. Finally, the first name *Pieter* (Peter) seems to allude to Simon Peter, Gethsemane, and the "Man of Sorrows."¹¹

The above examples illustrate the meticulous care with which Mann chose or invented his fascinating character names. Whether based on Greek mythology, history, the Bible, Latin grammar, word play, folklore, or the animal, vegetable, and mineral realms, they comprise an important strand of the *Romanteppich Zauberberg* and, at the same time, point up the need for further detailed study of the names from his other works as well. Although such investigation can provide intimate and valuable insights into the creative process, Germanists have, in the past, been curiously neglectful of this revealing facet of literary art. With the exception of a few sporadic footnotes, very little has been written about character names in German literature, and even such blatantly apparent objects for onomastic research as the novels of Franz Kafka, Theodor Fontane, and Hermann Hesse continue to lie fallow.¹²

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¹¹ In its form it also suggests *Pietà*, and it is perhaps not a coincidence that an actual *Pietà* is described so lucidly in the novel. See R. Eis and K. S. Guthke, "Naphtas *Pietà*," *GQ*, 33 (1960), 220-223.

¹² At this writing, however, a study by Professor J. Mileck of the names in Hesse's *Lauscher*, *Demian*, *Steppenwolf*, and *Glasperlenspiel* has been completed and was scheduled to appear in the spring of 1961 in *Monatshefte*.

Russo-German Place-Names in Russia and in North America¹

EDMUND HEIER

IN STUDIES OF GERMAN COMMUNITIES in Russia, place-names have always played an important and interesting part. Especially when reliable information has not been available as to the geographic origin of the settlers has the place-name — coupled with some definite dialectal features — been helpful in the tracing of the provenance of the founders of a certain community.² With these migratory Russo-Germans two patterns for naming may be observed: they gave their settlements totally new place-names having no relation at all to the colonists' origin in Germany or they used names suggesting their German ancestry. The purpose of this paper is to show the variety of place-names and the flexibility of their formation among Russo-Germans in Russia and North America.

Russo-Germans in Russia were settlers with special privileges who had been invited by the Russian Imperial government, for reason of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century state policy, to occupy

¹ Place-names of the reformed colonists such as the Hutterites and the Mennonites are not discussed in this paper. Extensive research has been done elsewhere regarding these groups. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor Herbert Penzl, University of Michigan, and the editors and unnamed readers for their suggestions concerning arrangements and style.

² Many Russo-German communities preserved the dialects of their ancestry in Germany. Others, however, formed relatively new dialects as Germans from various areas settled in one colony. Though there is no systematic linguistic analysis of all the colonies available, dialect studies of note were made by the Volga German, Georg Dinges, and the Germanist and folklorist, Victor Zhirmunski. Dinges was director of the "Research Institute for German Dialects" on the Volga (1928), and edited the first dialect Atlas of the Volga Germans. Zhirmunski, still the leading Germanist in Russia, published numerous studies on the Russian German dialect in *Teuthonista*. He is the author of *Volksmündliche Forschungen in den deutschen Siedlungen der Sowjet Union* (Moscow, 1930). In his recent voluminous publication *Nemetskaia dialektologia* (Leningrad, 1955), Zhirmunski completely ignores the Russo-Germans, a factor which requires no further explanation.

the wild or partially cultivated regions of Russia. From 1763 to 1840, German people of several religious denominations accepted this invitation and established 318 "mother colonies," densely populated villages on the left and right bank of the lower Volga river, in Crimea and the Black Sea area, Wolhynia, Caucasus, and in the vicinity of St. Petersburg. By the end of World War I close to 3,000 "sister colonies" (smaller settlements founded by members of the mother colonies), as well as 90,000 "khutors"³ were established in the vicinity of these mother colonies in Siberia, Central Asia, and Northern Caucasus.⁴ At present there are no longer any German settlements in European Russia. The Black Sea Germans were repatriated first to Germany during World War II and then returned partially to Asiatic Russia by the Soviet authorities. The Volga Germans, whose communities were never occupied by the German forces during World War II, were sporadically resettled by the Soviet government in 1941 as unreliable citizens in the same area. *Marx* and *Engels*, the names of two cities on the Volga, are the only remnants of the former Autonomous Republic of the Volga Germans. According to the latest Russian statistics (*Izvestia*, April 2, 1960) there is a total of 1,619,000 Russo-Germans still residing in Asiatic Russia.

In reviewing the names of some 3,000 Russo-German colonies as they existed until World War II, we find a colorful mixture of German, Russian and Russified German place-names. Most of the mother and sister colonies founded prior to 1872 had German names, such as will be subsequently mentioned. A few of the mother colonies on the Volga had names of Russian or French origin. These latter names were *Dobrinka*, *Galka*, *Iagodnaia*, *Kamenka*, *Krasnoiar*, *Orlovskaiia*, *Semenovka*, *Beauregard*, *Boisroux*, *Caneau*, *Degot*, *Nieder-Monjou*, *Ober-Monjou*, *Louis*, and *Rossoschi*.

The French place-names should not lead one to suppose that these colonies were established by French settlers: these names were simply those of the French companies which had undertaken the task of transporting the settlers to Russia.⁵ Only one settlement,

³ *Khutor* is a smaller settlement than a sister colony with a population of a few hundred.

⁴ *Der Wanderweg der Rußlanddeutschen*, ed. by Deutsches Ausland Institut (Stuttgart, 1939), 135.

⁵ Manfred Langhans-Ratzeburg, *Die Wolgadeutschen* (Berlin, 1929), 5-20.

Rossoschi, founded in 1765, later called *Franzosen*, was established by a French immigrant group. The settlers of this colony, however, were soon assimilated by the surrounding Germans.⁶

In analyzing the purely German names of colonies formerly on the Volga, one discovers that their names were German patronymics which therefore do not immediately reveal the geographic origin of the colonists. In spite of the lack of official documentation regarding the specific origin of the Volga Germans, linguistic and historic research shows that they had migrated from the areas of Hessen, The Palatinate, and Thuringia.⁷

With the exception of the few Russian and French names of mother colonies, as mentioned above, the remainder of the names of the mother colonies (a total of 130) were German family names. Thus, one found such names as *Bauer*, *Bettinger*, *Bohn*, *Dehler*, *Dieter*, *Dinkel*, *Fischer*, *Graf*, *Grimm*, *Hildmann*, *Keller*, *Köhler*, *Müller*, *Schäfer*, and *Winkelmann*. Occasionally first names were used which carry neither a place-name prefix nor a suffix: *Anton*, *Balzer*, and *Stephan*. As prospective emigrants gathered in Lübeck for transportation to Russia they were divided into numerous groups, each headed by a supervisor. Upon arrival on the Volga each group formed a colony with the name of the supervisor as the name of the colony.⁸

In the Black Sea area and in the Caucasus there were only a few mother colonies with names of Russian origin. These were usually names of members of the Imperial family with either German or Russian toponymic suffixes, such as *Alexanderdorf*, *Elisabethgrad*, and *Katharinenfeld*. The names of the mother colonies in Bessarabia constitute a mixture of names having no relation to the origin of the settlers. These colonies were founded soon after the Napoleonic wars, between 1815 and 1825, by settlers from Württemberg and Western Poland. The names of the majority of mother colonies such as *Arzis*, *Beresina*, *Borodino*, *Katzbach*, *Leipzig*, *Maloiaroslavets*, and *Paris* recall famous battle sites both of the Seven Years' and Napoleonic wars.⁹

⁶ Walter Kuhn, *Deutsche Sprachinselforschung* (Plauen, 1939), 223.

⁷ Gerhard Bonwetsch, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien an der Wolga* (Stuttgart, 1919), 15-30.

⁸ Langhans-Ratzeburg, *op. cit.*, 5-20.

⁹ Georg Leibbrandt, *Die deutschen Kolonien in Cherson und Bessarabien* (Stuttgart, 1926).

While the names of the colonies on the Volga contained no hint of the provenance of their settlers, the names of colonies in the Black Sea reveal to a certain extent the origin of the colonists. The settlers in the Black Sea area were, predominantly, immigrants from Southwest Germany, Alsace, The Palatinate, Baden, Württemberg, Swabia, Bavaria, and even Switzerland. The place-names of the mother colonies may conveniently be divided into two categories. In the first we can include transfer or commemorative names recalling the names of larger cities in Southwest Germany: *e.g.*, *Baden*, *Darmstadt*, *Durlach*, *Karlsruhe*, *Kassel*, *Landau*, *Mannheim*, *München*, *Rastatt*, *Speier*, *Strassburg*, and *Worms*. The second group comprises names with toponymic second composition members usually reserved for designations of smaller settlements in Germany, such as *Annenfeld*, *Alt-Schwedendorf*, *Bergdorf*, *Blumenfeld*, *Friedenstal*, *Glückstal*, *Grossliebental*, *Helenendorf*, *Hoffnungstal*, *Johannestal*, *Josephstal*, *Kleinliebental*, *Klosterdorf*, *Kronstal*, *Kronsgarten*, *Marienfeld*, *Rosental*, *Schlangendorf*, *Schoenfeld*, and *Steinfeld*. Though these names seem to be descriptive, only *Klosterdorf* and *Alt-Schwedendorf* are actually so. The former was situated in the vicinity of an Orthodox monastery, and the latter near an old Swedish settlement established by prisoners from the army of Charles XII after the battle of Poltava in 1709.

The characteristic feature of the formation of place-names for sister colonies on the Volga seems to have been the extensive use of German place-name first and last composition members. These were often duplicated — a new suffix being the only means of differentiation. Examples of this type are *Fresenheim* — *Fresental*; *Friedenberg* — *Friedenfeld*; *Gnadenflur* — *Gnadenfeld* — *Gnadendorf* — *Gnadental*; *Marienberg* — *Marienburg* — *Marienfeld*; *Rosenberg* — *Rosental* — *Rosenfeld* — *Rosendamm*; and *Schoendorf* — *Schoenfeld* — *Schoental*.¹⁰ Only a small number of sister colonies were named after their mother colonies, and whenever this was done these names usually carried the prefix *Neu-*; thus *Neu-Balzer*, *Neu-Bauer*, *Neu-Schilling*, and *Neu-Straub*. Among all the Volga colonies only *Alt-Weimar*, *Neu-Weimar*, and *Strassburg* were names of sister colonies reminiscent of place-names in Germany. Names of the sister colonies

¹⁰ For comparison see Georg J. Eisenach, *Das religiöse Leben unter den Rußland-deutschen* (Marburg, 1950), 214–216.

in the Black Sea area are formed primarily by prefixing *Neu* to the name of the mother colony — *Neu-Karlsruhe*, *Neu-Baden*, *Neu-Arzis*, *Neu-Friedenstal*, and *Neu-Josephsdorf*.¹¹

During the founding of the mother colonies (1763–1840) each colony received an official Russian name from the “Guardian Office”¹² in addition to its German one. Sometimes only a number was given. However, these Russian names (a few of which were of Ukrainian origin), or numbers, were not known to the colonists until 1872. At that time the Russian Government began an official, deliberate Russification process which included the renaming of those colonies which had had German names.¹³ The method of renaming the mother colonies was quite simple. Only the official Russian name or the number by which the colonies were known in the Guardian Office had to be brought to light.

Sister colonies founded after 1872, *i.e.*, during the Russification process, became known by Russian names: namely, *Anilova*, *Pobochnaia*, *Valuievka* on the Volga and *Kamtshatka*, *Kurudshika*, *Maniukbeievka*, and *Pavlovka* in the Black Sea area. Also the names of the sister colonies which had been purely German until 1872 underwent a variety of changes. Most frequently the names were Russified by replacing the German toponymic suffix or prefix by a Russian one: *Marienfeld* became *Marienskoie*; *Neu-Mannheim*, *Novo-Mannheim*; and *Alexanderfeld*, *Alexandrovka*. In rare cases, as for instance in the Black Sea area where no Russian name was readily at hand, the name was simply translated: *Steinfeld* became *Kamenopole*, and *Silberfeld*, *Serebropole*.

However, names of sister colonies which commemorated the Russian Imperial family often remained unchanged in spite of their German toponymic compounding members and were usually

¹¹ For detailed accounts of colonies in the Black Sea area and on the Volga see G. Beratz, *Die deutschen Kolonien an der Unteren Wolga in ihrer Entstehung und Entwicklung* (Berlin, 1928); Bonwetsch, *op.cit.*; *Der Wanderweg der Rußlanddeutschen*; Eisenach, *op.cit.*; Joseph Aloysius Kessler, *Die Geschichte der Diözese Tyraspol* (Dickinson, 1930); Karl Stumpp, *Die deutschen Kolonien im Schwarzmeergebiet* (Stuttgart, 1922).

¹² The “Guardian Office” was under the direct jurisdiction of the Minister of the Interior. The office was created for safeguarding the colonists’ privileges. Langhans-Ratzburg, *op.cit.*, 5–20.

¹³ *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*, ed. Dietrich Reimer (Berlin, 1906), 184.

preserved until the liquidation of the colonies during World War II. Such names were often duplicated even in the same area and differed only in their suffixes or prefixes. Thus one was able to find the following names on the Volga: *Alexanderhoeh*, *Alexandertal*, *Gross-Konstantinov*, *Klein-Konstantinov*, *Konstantinovka*, *Gross-Romanov*, and *Klein-Romanov*. In the Black Sea area similar names were *Alexanderheim*, *Alexandrovsk*, *Katerinovka*, *Katerinopol*, *Novo Alexandrovka*, and *Nikolaital*.

Despite the insistence by the Russian Government that the Russian name be used in official transactions, the colonists themselves never really accepted the Russian names for both mother colonies and sister colonies. The renaming of their colonies was considered a violation of their privileges granted by Catherine II. In popular usage, therefore, the colonies retained their former German names. Following the insurrection of 1904–1905 the Imperial Government repealed its Russification policy and allowed the establishment of new sister colonies with German names. The mother colonies and many of the sister colonies resumed their former names. The Volga German mother colonies, however, often retained their Russian names. The printing of the German and the Russian name on maps and the usage of a double name among the Volga Germans were quite common; e.g., *Brabander* (*Kasickoie*), *Dehler* (*Berezovka*), *Husaren* (*Elshanka*), *Rothhammel* (*Pamiatnoie*), *Pfeiffer* (*Gnilushka*), *Hildmann* (*Panovka*), and *Schönchen* (*Paninskoie*).¹⁴

During the Soviet regime the colonies have retained their German names.¹⁵ Only among the Volga Germans one found the names of *Marx*, *Engels*, *Luxemburg*, and *Thälmann*, but ordinarily these names together with slogans like “Vorwärts,” “Rot Front,” and “Arbeiter” were reserved for the newly founded collective farms. Very little information is available regarding the fate of the settlements established after World War II by the repatriated Black Sea Germans from Eastern Germany and the expelled Volga Germans — in Siberia and Central Asia. It is known, however, that many of their settlements became identified by a number, thus perpetuating

¹⁴ E. Gross, *ASSR Nemtsev Povolzia* (Pokrovsk, 1926); *ASSR der Wolgadeutschen* (Engels, 1938).

¹⁵ The preservation of German names was part of the Soviet policy to foster the national culture of minority groups. Indeed it was to be a culture national in form and socialist in content.

neither personal nor group history. The renaming of colonies or the stripping them of their names was also the first act by the Russian Imperial Government when it had temporarily pursued its Russification policy in the nineteenth century.

Curtailment of the settlers' privileges in 1872 and the apparent land shortage motivated the Russo-German immigration to North America.¹⁶ As farmers, the immigrants settled chiefly in the rural states of North and South Dakota, Montana, Nebraska and in the Canadian provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. While the Volga Germans tended to settle in the cities, the Black Sea Germans eagerly founded new farming districts. The naming of these new settlements assumed a variety of patterns; however, the majority of them were named after one of the larger mother colonies in Russia. In a few instances, however, the Black Sea Germans named their settlements after their metropolis Odessa, on the Black Sea. These settlements were established at the turn of the century in Saskatchewan, in North Dakota, and in Washington¹⁷ and have retained their names up to the present. Only rarely do we find towns named after their founders. The origin of "Temvik" in North Dakota is indeed unique. In 1907, a Russo-German by the name of "Tempel" bought land from a Norwegian named "Larvik." With the coming of his kinsmen to this land, the Russo-German called the small settlement "Tempel." The Norwegian, however, insisted on the name "Larvik." A court decision combined the names into "Temvik." In other instances where the rural areas were already designated by the name of a river, post office, or railroad station, the name was often simply transferred to the newly founded settlement. In this manner a substantial number of Russo-

¹⁶ The land shortage also later in the nineteenth century caused the establishment of sister colonies in Asiatic Russia. These colonies never participated in the migration to the Americas. The figures below show the distribution of Russo-Germans according to Georg Wagner and Richard Mai, *Deutsche über Land und Meer* (Bonn, 1940), 281 — in the Americas. Canada 200,000; U.S.A. 400,000; Mexico 10,000; Paraguay 4,000; Argentina 150,000; Uruguay 2,500; Brazil 250,000.

¹⁷ Odessa, Texas, received its name from Russian railroad workers who named a section after the city of their origin on the Black Sea. Odessa in Missouri and Ontario also has no relation to the Russo-Germans. See George Rippey Stewart, *Names on the Land* (New York, 1958), 321; G. H. Armstrong, *The Origin and Meaning of Place-Names in Canada* (Toronto, 1930), 211; and J. B. Rudnyćkyj, *Canadian Place-Names of Ukrainian Origin, Onomastica II* (Winnipeg, 1951), 56.

German settlements both in Canada and in the U.S.A. acquired English names, names totally unconnected with the origin of their inhabitants.

In North America at present only a small number of Russo-German settlements have retained their original names. At the turn of the century, the names of numerous school districts and counties both in Canada and the U.S.A. which originally were Russo-German disappeared as railroad stations or post offices with different names sprang up. These settlements were then quite often known by both the old German and the new English names, the German names remaining only as long as did the older immigrant generation. As anti-German feelings swept North America during World War I, a number of the colonies changed their German names to English ones. Between the World Wars no new settlements were established by the Russo-Germans. The following table shows the names (still in official use) of settlements, most of which were founded by settlers from corresponding colonies in Russia.¹⁸

YEAR FOUNDED	NAME OF SETTLEMENT	PROVINCE OR STATE	ORIGIN OF SETTLERS
1876	Catherine	Kansas	Volga
1876	Liebental	Kansas	Volga
1877	Schoenchen	Kansas	Volga
1885	Selz	North Dakota	Black Sea
1889	Strassburg	North Dakota	Black Sea
1890	Speyer	Saskatchewan	Black Sea
1898	Karlsruhe	North Dakota	Black Sea
1900	Kendal ¹⁹	Saskatchewan	Black Sea
1901	Selman	Oklahoma	Volga
1902	Marienthal	Saskatchewan	Black Sea
1908	Krasne	Saskatchewan	Bessarabia
1910	Paris	Montana	Bessarabia
1911	Rosenheim	Alberta	Volga

¹⁸ For detailed accounts of Russo-German colonies in Canada and the U.S.A. see the *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year 1896*, No. 13 (Ottawa, 1897), 124–125; J. J. Ballensky, *Die Wolga-Deutschen an der unteren Wolga und in Nordamerika* (Denver, 1924); J. J. Ballensky, *Die Südrussland-Deutschen* (St. Louis, 1925); Edmund Heier, "A Study of the German Lutheran and Catholic Immigrants in Canada formerly residing in Tzarist and Soviet Russia" (unpubl. thesis, Univ. of British Columbia, 1955); Heinz Lehman, *Das Deutschtum in West-*

The loss of these German names in America meant very little to the Russo-German. While he violently rejected the renaming of the colonies with German names during the Russification process after the 1870's, he voluntarily stripped himself of his identity in America. In fact, he considered himself neither German nor Russian, and was ready to forsake his old habits and customs, chiefly for the benefit of his children. It was this attitude which made possible the peaceful and rapid assimilation of the Russo-Germans in North America.

The University of Waterloo

kanada (Berlin, 1939); Richard Sallet, "Rußland-deutsche Siedlungen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika", *Jahrbuch der Deutsch Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, 31 (Chicago, 1931), 5-127; Hattie P. Williams, *A Social Study of the Russian German* (Lincoln, 1916).

¹⁹ *Kendal* is derived from *Kandel*.

Book Reviews

Robert Guy McCutchan. *Hymn Tune Names: Their Sources and Significance*. New York and Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1957. Pp. 206.

This book is indeed the "pioneer Study" which its author calls it. No other book in English deals with its subject more than parenthetically, and much of the information it contains had to be sought in relatively obscure religious and musical publications and in private correspondence. The basic subject matter — this hitherto almost inaccessible information about the names given to musical settings of Christian hymns — is presented clearly, intelligently, and with few exceptions accurately.

The systematic organization of the book is one of its major virtues. First come three introductory chapters on the history of tune naming, the classes of names used for this purpose (most important are place names, saints' names, and names taken from or suggested by the verses to which the tunes are set), and the practice of individual composers in christening their tunes. These are followed by the "Alphabetical List of Tunes," which gives for each tune the name by which it is most commonly known; its metrical structure and melodic scheme; composer and date of composition, if known; and derivation of the name. The book is completed by a melodic index, a list of names treated in the introductory essays but not in the main text, and an index of the first lines of hymn lyrics.

Students of names who lack the author's extensive knowledge of hymnology and musicology will find the preliminary chapters more interesting than the itemized entries. They serve as a thorough, lucid, and intelligent guide to the understanding and evaluation of the wealth of detail in the Alphabetical List, and they are enriched by parenthetical comments on onomastic trends and patterns in other areas of human endeavor; see the discussion of "made names" (pp. 20–21) and the paragraph on the relation of religion to Welsh

toponymy (p. 23). The third chapter is the most interesting to this reviewer, for it provides proof that tune naming was to many composers an important adjunct to their art. Some were careful to use only names derived from the texts which the tunes were written to accompany. Others christened their compositions according to elaborate systems of religious nomenclature. The tunes in one 19th century British hymnal bore names taken from "the *Natural Geography* of the Bible" and from those of "the friends of Saint Paul."

The Alphabetical List of Tunes is a compendium of information whose value is surely not lessened by the fact that older standard works on hymnody (Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, Lightwood's *Hymn Tunes and Their Story*) either contain very few onomastic facts or else scatter them, making them difficult to locate. Only rarely does one feel justified in disagreeing with McCutchan on a question of derivation. My only real quibble is with his selection as the source of *Dominica* (p. 61) the West Indian island of that name (so called because discovered on a Sunday) rather than the Latin *dies dominica*, which is a much more probable because a more immediate source, especially since the poem for which it was written — Ellerton's "This Is the Day of Light" — is definitely a Sunday morning hymn.

A few entries manifest irrelevance and incorrectness in the selection and presentation of background material. In the paragraph on *Mirfield* (p. 103) a mysterious authority identified only as "Lewis" is paraphrased at length and to little onomastic purpose. This Lewis I have discovered to be Samuel Lewis, author of *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, from the seventh edition of which (London, 1849) McCutchan has adapted part of an entry, completely muddling chronology and ecclesiastical language in the process. (A parish church is called a chapel; the year 1261 is identified with the era of the Heptarchy!) The most notable irrelevance is the entry for *Varina* (p. 165). Here the only pertinent fact in 29 lines appears in the first: *Varina* is "a woman's name." The remainder of the paragraph is given over to the story of Swift's "Varina," Jane Waryng, and a reference to Jefferson Davis' second wife, who bore the name, although McCutchan blandly admits that neither woman is at all connected with the tune or its composer!

Such vagaries, however, remain incidental to the author's main task, and detract only moderately from the value of an otherwise capably done and useful study.

G. Thomas Fairclough

University of Nebraska

Names for Every Child, a Guide to Personal Names and their Meanings. By Christine Campbell Thomson. London, Arco Publications, 1961. Pp. 159. Price 10s 6d.

This is a reprint, without changes, of a book first published in London in 1947 by Banner Books Limited. It does have a more attractive dust cover and the simple illustrations bear a dash of red instead of blue. Otherwise, there is no improvement. The meanings are very casually done. As an example, William is noted as "A Norse name which means The Helmet." The five pages at the end on numerology accentuate the quality of scholarship involved.

Elsdon C. Smith

Notes and Queries

On January 8, 1962 Professor Eilert Ekwall of the University of Lund, Sweden, will celebrate his eighty-fifth birthday. Professor Ekwall's research and publications have covered a wide range in the field of Germanic philology and English studies. His contributions to onomastic scholarship have been numerous and distinguished; among the most recent are *Street Names of the City of London* (1954) and the fourth edition of his *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1960). To mark the occasion of Professor Ekwall's birthday and to pay tribute to his valuable work, a complete bibliography of his writings is to appear shortly. Compiled by Dr. Olof von Feilitzen of the Royal Library, Stockholm, it will be published by the C. W. K. Gleerup Bokförlag in Lund. The American Name Society joins in extending its warm good wishes and congratulations to Professor Ekwall.

* * *

ANS member William Feather, writing in his publication, *The William Feather Magazine* for July, notes Arthur Minton's series on names in real-estate developments (*Names*, September and December, 1959; March, 1961), and suggests that someone investigate trends in names given to apartment buildings. His observation is that names that have won distinction elsewhere seem to be favored, and he cites, among others, Essex House, Hampshire House, and Blair House — all within walking distance of each other.

* * *

When ANS Past President Margaret M. Bryant read a paper on "Name Prefixes in Telephone Numbers" at the Society's 1960 meeting, she noted that the telephone company was even then about to abandon the names in favor of a more flexible system using numbers only. Along with the September bills, the New England Telephone and Telegraph company mailed to its subscribers a statement concerning the change, explaining that beginning with the current month's bill, the numbers "... are expressed without the

usual letters indicating the central office name. Instead of letters, the corresponding figures shown on a telephone dial are used." The company explains further that the new system is necessary for the nationwide direct distance dialing system, grants subscribers a period of grace in which either the old letter names or the new number-combinations may be used, but concludes with the inexorable: "Eventually, letters will disappear altogether from telephone numbers and from telephone dials throughout the United States and Canada."

LYceum, ACademy, REpublic, STate;
 NATional REgent, COLonial VOLunteer;
 ALpine CRestview, CHerry ORchard, LYric...

Ave atque vale

* * *

A postscript to the discussion of paired names on these pages in the last issue: How do the names of twin cities compare with other twin names? Minnesota's Minneapolis and St. Paul are about as diverse as can be; Duluth and Superior are from the same language family but share little else; Neenah and Menasha (Wisconsin) are both Indian names with abundant nasals, but where are the "leese geese" and alliterations so common in other twin names?

Mr. J. Boddewyn, Assistant Professor of Business Administration at the University of Portland (Oregon) is currently at work on a doctoral dissertation titled "An Environmental Study of the Purpose and Name of Large Industrial Corporations" in which he is especially concerned with the development of corporate names. He would like to hear from any other *ANS* members who are interested in the project.

* * *

Among many peoples of ages past, it was an accepted fact that evil magic could not be worked on anyone whose right name was not known to the magician; neither could curses be placed effectively on a victim who could conceal his name. Rumpelstiltskin could hold the fairy tale Queen to her sad bargain until she called him

by his correct name and in so doing stripped away his power. Odysseus replied shrewdly to Polyphemus's question, answering that his name was "No Man" — a pseudonym that ultimately saved his life. In the *Volsungasaga* Sigurd gives an evasive answer to a similar question from the dying Fafnir because, as a scribal interpolation in prose between the first and second stanzas of the *Fáfnismál* explains, it was believed in those days that a dying man's curse might have great power if he could call his enemy by name. Maledictions may seem cumbersome in these days of efficient mechanical means of destruction, but it may well be that among the folklore and proverbs that are part of contemporary tradition, there are vestiges of some of these old beliefs in the power of a name. It is still considered very unlucky among conservative Chinese to name a child after a living parent; the theory seems to be that one or the other will suffer greatly and perhaps die as a result. This old American marriage-advice proverb may also fit into the same tradition:

"Change the name and not the letter
Change for worse and not for better."

Let us hope some one has already begun a collection of onomastic folklore and will share it soon with *Names* readers.

* * *

Concluding, but probably inconclusive coincidence: A passenger on the Bergen Steamship Line's SS *Leda* this summer noted that one of the framed prints on the walls of the corridor leading to the dining salon was a picture of a very attractive swan.

* * *

The Editors would particularly like to urge authors of onomastic items published elsewhere to send reprints or information about their articles, to Miss Duckert for consideration in the Notes and Queries column. This is the best way we can devise to bring such activities to the attention of *Names* readers who might miss interesting material in its place of original publication.

In order to make sure that the PMLA bibliography coverage on onomastics includes a thorough coverage of the production of *ANS* members, including articles published in *Names*, it is urged that authors send reprints of *all* their published works for a given year to the MLA Bibliographer, Dr. Paul A. Brown, Temple University, Philadelphia 22, Pennsylvania.

TENTH ANNIVERSARY VOLUME OF *NAMES*

The journal *NAMES*, celebrating its tenth anniversary in 1962, invites papers, preferably shorter contributions (up to eight printed pages each, with some exceptions for longer articles), for its March and June 1962 issues from members as well as friends of the American Name Society and from fellow onomatologists abroad. The tenth volume, for the year 1962, containing 320 pages, will be larger than any previous volume.

The Editor

THE AMERICAN NAME SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING PROGRAM

Friday and Saturday, December 29th and 30th, 1961

All meetings except the Annual Dinner
will be held in Room 18, Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois

Jack A. Dabbs, Chairman, *Program Committee*; Elsdon C. Smith, Chairman, *Committee on Local Arrangements*. Members of Local Arrangements Committee: Helen Carlson and I. J. Gelb.

Friday, December 29, 6:00 p.m.

Annual Dinner

Room 17, Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois

Jack A. Dabbs, A. & M. College of Texas, presiding.

Address

John B. Tuttle, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, "Names in Oil."

Saturday, December 30, 9:15 a.m. to 10:15 a.m.

T. M. Pearce, University of New Mexico, presiding.

John P. Pauls, University of Cincinnati, "Symbolic Names in Russian Literature."

Geart B. Droege, Northwestern University, "Middle Netherlandish Anthroponymy of Fourteenth-Century 'Berghen' (Sint-Winoksbergen)."

Robert W. Lowe, Georgetown University, "Saints Names in Colloquial French Speech."

Saturday, December 30, 10:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m.

E. Wallace McMullen, Fairleigh Dickinson University, presiding.

Woodford A. Heflin, Air University, USAF, "Psychological Influences in the Adoption of Political Group Names."

J. B. Rudnyčkyj, University of Winnipeg, "Sirjatogos — the Name of the Hero of *Bylina*."

Ingeborg Lewis, Jalapa, Veracruz, Mexico, "Indian Origins of Mexican Place Names."

Saturday, December 30, 11:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.

Mamie Meredith, University of Nebraska, presiding.

Business Meeting.

Reports of the Executive Secretary, the Treasurer, the Editor, the President.

Announcement of the election of officers for 1962.

Other Business.

Saturday, December 30, 1:30 p.m. to 2:30 p.m.

Elsdon C. Smith, Chicago, presiding.

J. Franklin Murray, Spring Hill College, Alabama, "Jesuit Names in the U. S."

Frank R. Smith, Institute of Technology, USAF, "Some Technical Names and Their Origins."

Robert Plank, Cleveland, Ohio, "Names of Twins."

Karl W. Dykema, Youngstown University, "Anglicized Forms of Proper Names."

I. J. Gelb, University of Chicago, "Ethnic Reconstructions Based on Personal and Geographic Names."

Collections of the American Name Society

KELSIE B. HARDER

IN JANUARY OF 1960, after assuming the office of Executive Secretary of the Society, I found myself with the additional almost self-appointed task of keeper of the collections of material pertaining to names that members began sending to me. When Professor Fritz Kramer sent me a box of magazines, and when Professor Madison Beeler forwarded another box, I was in the business of making acquisitions for the *ANS* collections. From the modest beginnings of two cardboard boxes of material, the collections have been enlarged to the point that a bibliography of the material is in order. The present holdings of the Society are listed in the bibliography that follows.

The collections are housed in a room on the fourth floor of the Main Building, Youngstown University, Youngstown, Ohio. The area, a circular, windowless tower, was at one time the library room for periodical publications. The room provides ample shelving space for depositing the material conveniently.

Most of the material consists of donations from authors of articles. Some material has been obtained through exchanges, although exchanges have not been exploited as much as they perhaps should be. Additional material has been deposited by members who have accumulated articles pertaining to names and who wish to have the material placed in a more permanent collection. Occasionally, unpublished manuscripts, published newspaper clippings, items in letters, and family genealogies have been placed in the permanent collections.

As the material arrives it is acknowledged and recorded on cards. The item is marked as property of *ANS*, along with the date and the donor's name. Although still of modest size the collection represents the initial stage of a much larger permanent collection and, I hope, the first step toward the establishing of an onomastics center. In order to establish such a center the Society needs a long

range plan, which must include, besides space for materials, a system for cataloging, indexing, and collecting. Furthermore, money must be obtained for the buying of books that constitute the basis of any collection of names.

Fortunately, Youngstown University is blessed with a librarian, Mr. George Jones, who has ordered book after book on onomastics for the University Library. These books are housed in a special collection, including a large private accumulation purchased at a nominal price from a prominent Massachusetts businessman, whose interest in Algonquin Indian names led him to collect over a period of forty years what was probably the best one collection available for source work on Algonquin Indians. The bibliography of this private collection will be published in an early issue of *Names*.

Obviously, the Society needs a hospitable library to house the collections. The Society has not made any overtures to any large universities in order to place the collections in a final depository. Several steps should be taken before the collection is finally housed. The first step, one which I hope will be taken during the next year, is to index all volumes of *Names* to date. The Society also needs to collect materials in a more systematic manner. Authors of articles are usually willing to send in reprints of their work, but obtaining books is another matter altogether. The financial state of the Society certainly does not warrant our buying ten to fifteen books a year, especially when we have not selected a final place for making the material available to scholars interested in research in onomastics.

The Youngstown University Library would be willing to accept the collections of the Society on the condition that the collections be made a part of the permanent stock of the Library. The University Library, however, has continued to build its own collection, due in part to the efforts of the librarian who has become very much interested in eventually establishing a research center for onomastics.

It is hoped that members of the Society and others will send their materials to the Executive Secretary, who will gladly acknowledge any contribution. So far all contributors have been acknowledged either by personal letter or on the pages of *Names*. Several members

have deposited many items and will perhaps continue to do so. Among those who have been most regular in sending in materials are Mamie Meredith, G. Thomas Fairclough, Helen S. Carlson, David Brooks Cofer, A. R. Dunlap, I. J. Gelb, Demetrius J. Georgacas, Mario Pei, P. H. Reamey, J. B. Rudnyćkyj, C. A. Weslager, Franklin B. Williams, Jr., A. Joseph Wraight, Robert Plank, W. L. McAtee, and Ernest Maass. Many others, of course, have sent in one or more items.

The bibliography listed below includes all books, magazines, reprints, and a few important clippings that are now in the collections. The Executive Secretary will be happy to send any of this material to members who wish to use it, with the stipulation, of course, that the material be returned within a reasonable time. I hope that once every year a bibliography of the holdings will be published in *Names*. Perhaps the publishing of the bibliography will also stimulate — even inspire — the members to send other items to be placed in the collections.

Collections of The American Name Society

August, 1961

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